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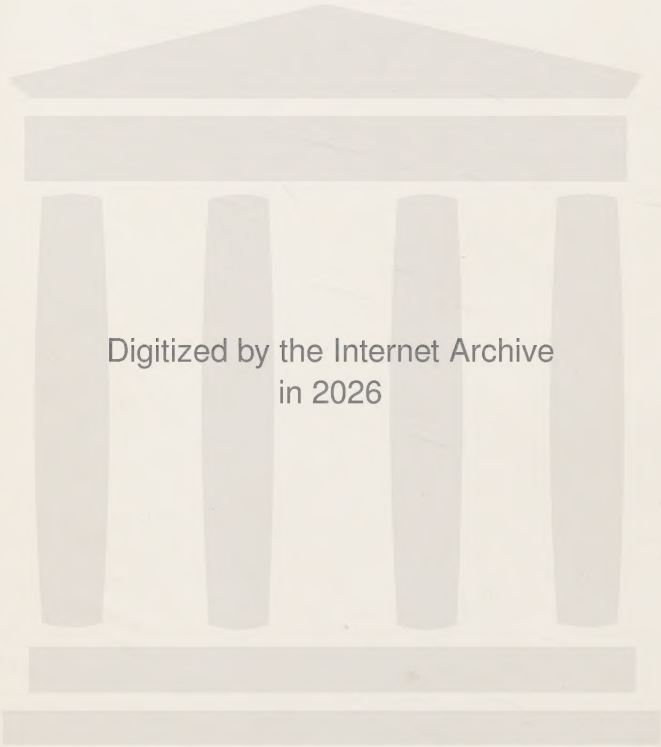
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THE SOUL OF MANCHESTER

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THE SOUL OF MANCHESTER

EDITED BY

W. H. BRINDLEY

M.A., M.Sc.Tech., Ph.D.

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PREFACE.

In the late autumn of last year the Chairman of the Manchester Section of the Society of Chemical Industry, Mr. C. J. T. Cronshaw, put forward the suggestion that a book should be published to commemorate the meeting of the Society in Manchester in 1929. The essence of this suggestion was that the publication should be an attempt to portray the more salient features of the City's life rather than it should be a guide-book to Manchester, the number of excellent volumes of this type already being so large. Lack of time has made impossible a complete survey of the activities of a city which has played so conspicuous a part in the evolution of human affairs, both national and international. Incomplete as the book may be one feels that it reflects in some measure, at least, the spirit of Manchester.

In a book of this type repetitions are almost unavoidable; and although here and there will be found a slight overlapping it is believed that the disadvantages are outweighed by the advantages in illustrating the connection and interdependence of the matters treated.

The title for this volume has been inspired by the illuminating contribution of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

Lord Crawford points out that the soul of a city will always be there, varying from one generation to another. How the Soul of Manchester has manifested itself through succeeding generations must be left to the judgment of the reader.

The compilation of this volume has been made possible by the willing co-operation of many people, not only those who have so kindly contributed articles but also others who have assisted in various ways ; and I regret that space does not permit me to acknowledge adequately all the assistance I have received.

I am particularly indebted to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, not only for permission to reprint "The Soul of Cities," which was first published in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, but also for several helpful suggestions in connection with the book itself.

To Professor H. B. Charlton I am also indebted for allowing me to embody in this volume a talk which was broadcast by him during Civic Week, 1926.

From the outset I have taken advantage of the wide experience of Dr. Henry Guppy in matters relating to books and their publication, and my warmest thanks are due to him for the valuable advice which at all times he has so willingly offered.

Others to whom I am indebted for assistance in one way or another are Professor S. Alexander, Miss Hilda Cashmore, Mr. P. V. Delahunty, Professor H. B. Dixon, Mr. W. J. Fielden, Mr. C. W. Gamble, various members of the *Manchester Guardian* Staff, the Secretary of the Hallé Concerts Society, the Headmistress of the High School for

Girls, the Headmaster of the Hulme Grammar School, the Headmaster of the Xaverian College, Dr. Herbert Levinstein, Mr. C. Little, Dr. A. A. Mumford, Professor T. F. Tout, and Mr. G. P. Dudley Wallis.

In addition I must express my best thanks to those who have allowed me the use of illustrations : to Mr. E. Vincent Harris of London for the drawing of the Town Hall extension and new Library ; to the University of Manchester for the painting of the University by Mr. T. C. Dugdale ; to Messrs. Bradshaw, Gass & Hope of Bolton for the drawing of the proposed Municipal College of Technology extension, the photograph of which was kindly prepared by Mr. C. W. Gamble ; to Professor H. B. Dixon for the photograph of Sir Henry Roscoe ; to Mr. H. S. Fairhurst for the drawings of the Ship Canal Company's Building and the projected building of Messrs. Tootal Broadhurst Lee Company, Ltd. ; to Messrs. Worthington & Jones for permission to reproduce a photograph (kindly supplied by the *Manchester Guardian*) of the drawing of the Memorial Hall at the new Grammar School ; to Dr. Henry Guppy for the photograph of the John Rylands Library ; to Mr. F. W. Schmidt for the photograph of C. E. Montague and for the drawing of Mr. C. P. Scott which he had the kindness to draw specially for this volume ; to Dr. R. H. Pickard for the photograph of the Library at the Shirley Institute (formerly the dining-room at the Towers—the room in which the idea for bringing the sea to Manchester was first discussed), and to the Manchester Ship Canal Company for the photograph of Manchester's inland Docks.

In making these acknowledgments I must record the great help I have received from Professor C. H. Reilly of Liverpool University for selecting several of the illustrations and also for the titles they carry.

It is now necessary that I should sound a more personal note. To my colleague, Mr. Andrew McCulloch, my obligations are particularly deep for his encouragement and unwearied assistance throughout the compilation of the volume, and also for the pains he has expended in the revision of proofs. Without his assistance my task would have been difficult indeed.

It is also a pleasure and a duty to acknowledge the infinite help which has been given to me by Mr. H. M. McKechnie in the capacity of Secretary of the Manchester University Press. For the suggestions he has made and the skill he has exercised in seeing the book through the press I am deeply grateful.

In compiling the index I have received a large measure of assistance from Miss C. Lightfoot and Miss A. Warburton, and to them my best thanks are due.

This list of acknowledgments would be incomplete if I failed to express my gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Manchester Section of the Society of Chemical Industry for the whole-hearted support they have given me in the editing of this volume.

W. H. BRINDLEY.

Municipal College of Technology,
University of Manchester,
June, 1929.

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THE SOUL OF CITIES.

DOES physiognomy reflect the soul? Does the soul always govern physiognomy? Ruskin used to tell us that those who produce beautiful things must themselves be beautiful in character. Let us never contest a fallacy at once so attractive and so inspiring.

When the Roman Empire entered upon that tragic period in which the Barbarian hordes began to assert their mastery, when Rome had been sacked by Alaric, when Spain and Gaul were being overrun by irresistible tribesmen, and the sinister shadow of Genseric was about to loom up behind Carthage, St. Augustine composed his famous book "de Civitate Dei," in which he drew a vivid picture of the new City of the Soul, which was to erect its superstructure above the ruins of the older and saddened world. Like Aristotle he looked upon the city as a living entity, as a place where mankind must lead a common life for a noble end. And such a city would be no mere aggregation of houses, but rather a reunion—not only the place of domicile, but the focus of home life, with its public duties and its private enterprise, with its government and religion responding to the higher needs of the community, and amplifying the call of the birthplace by the far-flung duties of patriotism and world-wide responsibility. And throughout the history of our race the ingenuity and ambitions of mankind have been manifest in their cities. All men want to build.

After the nomadic leader developed into a pastoral chief, his first impulse was to erect a permanent shelter : until then he had enjoyed no leisure to build, but he learned how to sit still : then came the constitution, the formularization of his religious beliefs, and worship gave its primary impetus to creative art. All kings want to build. It is the most continuing passion of Emperor, Mogul, and Pope. Their lineaments are mirrored in their palaces and cathedrals ; our characters can be read in our streets and squares and suburbs. Our cities are influenced by climate, scenery, geology, site, occupation, by the style, colour, and employment of materials, and thus acquire a degree of personality, emphasized by the character of a dominant style, and to a less palpable extent by the sentiment of their inhabitants. Often indeed towns are too incoherent to be personified, because like their inhabitants they lack countenance and defy characterization. Towns like people are vapid, neutral, or colourless, jumbles of contradiction and aimlessness ; but even so they may be typical of a race. And a town is a very secretive personage. At first we may think its character is easily defined ; but be cautious. There are contradictions and diversities which may lead us astray in our assessment of man or city ; and the city seldom reveals its character to the first impression. Bruges may sleep, Stirling may frown, Venice may enchant, Paris may smile : but one must search diligently, analyse a sequence of competing elements, and even then it is often difficult to detect fundamentals. Paris used to be called the Gay City. To-day I suppose we apply the epithet more generally to her satellites along the French seaboard. Examine their gay laughter and you may see that the happy smile of these forbidding places is often akin to a rictus.

When I was young and active I used to make a practice

of climbing the highest tower in every foreign town I visited for the first time, in order to get a bird's-eye view of the place. Poised high above the streets, one felt a sort of mastery, a sense of possession. Instinctively one's first glance travelled far afield, out into the surrounding country dependent on the town, and intersected by the road system converging towards the centre ;—reaching the gates, entering the town itself, distributing themselves in those concentric rings which mark the successive extensions of urban life and fortifications. After casting one's eyes over the sea of roofs one ultimately peeped into the abyss far below, into some market square or forecourt where citizens intent on perambulation, resembled an anthill, though seemingly less methodical in purpose. Much can be learned from these high places, though only physical aspects present themselves to the eye. Roofs are eloquent and do not always withhold a glimpse of an interior ; but broadly speaking the guidance one receives from these high-level surveys is general in nature—the scale of the city, the sweep of its river, the pulse of its arteries—those ruling features, be they symbols of religion, warfare, commerce, or seafaring, which control the destiny or govern the sentiment of a community.

Of course these physical aspects which in their essence form the problem of town-planning, influence the life and habits of the citizen, just as the sentiment of the community shows itself in the organization of the town. We should organize our towns as we do our businesses. The latter are reasonably efficient notwithstanding our habit of self-depreciation : but our individualism in business affairs has blinded us to the need of organizing our communities, just as the average architect concentrates his effort upon the building he has to design without due deference to the affinities of the township

as a whole, or even to the permanent buildings in the vicinity. I like an architect to be a good host and his building to pay heed to neighbourliness : and he is ill-advised to neglect these amenities. A vast building has just been erected near a little church, towering over it ; but the little church still holds her own and her gigantic neighbour looks like a hyperpachic baby.

Let us descend from the tower with its entrancing views and the dreamland perspectives of Mount Pisgah. We are back at our starting-point : we are on a pavement, that great leveller, but without letting our soul cleave unto the dust as did the Psalmist's—*adhaesit pavimento.* Assume we are in the centre of a town, in the Square, the Market, the Piazza, Place, Platz, or Plaza. We are at the pivot. All towns need a central point just as every town requires a frame. On the whole the Italian appellation of Piazza seems most apposite for the area to which traffic must flow and from which it has to be redistributed. The centre of the town was the Agora, Forum, Parliament, Exchange, the meeting-place of all and sundry whether for purposes of politics, religion, or commerce. In England this focal point usually occupies the old market-place and retains the original name. Elsewhere the dominant building is a church, fortress, or palace, but in most cases the piazza was the scene of the crucial episodes in the life of a town. Turbulence, exhortation, persecution, faction fighting, the struggle for municipal or national freedom, the religious procession and pageantry of art, always supplemented by the process of unemotional trade—such is the history of the average piazza of the average mediæval town. The influence on public life of this open space, hedged in by some great building, has always been marked. The piazza requires enclosure, a sense of public privacy, otherwise the area becomes

a mere junction. Here and there the piazza is so much protected that it is no more than a courtyard from which wheeled traffic is excluded—such as the calm and dignified Exchange Flags of Liverpool, and the ancillary squares of Verona or Avignon.

From the piazza we emerge into the street, a passage-way hedged in by houses. In New York a street can be ten miles long without beginning, centre, or conclusion : elsewhere it is some wayward meandering track conforming to the lie of the land, or again a sequence of palaces—Pall Mall or the Via Nuova at Genoa. In the ideally designed city the street would be laid out before a house was planned ; but in our own haphazard congeries, it just comes into being by the erection of buildings which consequently seem to disclaim relationship with the street ; while the street in turn wearily accepts the houses as part of the dull day's work. But the street as street has its own functions to fulfil, not as a thoroughfare along which one wants to hurry *ut celerrime*, but as the approach to each frontage in its entire length. One should only be less proud of residence in a great street than of citizenship of a great city. Many people (perhaps most) think it axiomatic that the street should have a terminal point, and should end in the vista of some public building of character. Paris is the classic example, where under the control of Baron Hausmann, an engineer rather than an architect, streets were cut, diverted, and directed with this specific purpose. Undoubtedly such a practice gives value to indifferent buildings, and enhances the importance of the street itself by conveying the impression of an objective. No street can seem quite vacuous or indeterminate if some big church or public building provides a logical and imposing conclusion, even if 99 out of

100 people intend to pass it by. In point of fact the radiation of Hausmann's streets was partly designed for convenience in handling an excitable population :—most towns were originally founded on the basis of strategy or commerce—and modern Paris is a little too stiff in applying principles of perfection. I become less enamoured of these rigid syllogisms. There is great charm in the irregular terminals so common in Southern Germany—I can even forgive the hopelessly false alignment of St. James's Street as it runs down to St. James's Palace, and it is sometimes urged that the oblique approach to St. Paul's Cathedral enhances the stature rather than curtails the dignity of that masterpiece.

Not indeed that I wish the street to lack personality—far from it. The ideal street while serving its purpose as an easy thoroughfare should keep the wayfarer's interest active, should surprise him from time to time by unexpected pleasures, rather than keep his eye fixed on some *bonne bouche* at its termination. Herein lies one charm of the curved street, an idea almost unknown to the geometricians from Hippodamus in B.C. 450 to Baron Hausmann in 1860. Whitehall and High Street, Oxford, or the curved thoroughfares along the river frontages of Pisa, Amsterdam, London, or Vienna, keep the mind alert as fresh views and perspectives emerge. The great circular boulevards which have replaced walls in old fortified towns—Moscow or Paris, have a somewhat similar merit, except that being so far from the centre of the city there is seldom anything to arrest attention.

Fully curved streets must be exceptional, but the straight road can have its own paradoxes, and nowhere is the unexpected more frequent than in Nuremberg, where the old fifteenth-century town lives in triumphant alliance with a young com-

mercial community as big as Bolton, Blackburn, and Oldham combined. I doubt if there is a single building of importance in Nuremberg which fulfils the laws of axial planning : for to right or left or diagonally one passes churches in market squares, forecourts of public buildings, gardens, fountains, recesses, projections, irregularities of every description, and yet the effect is altogether fascinating. Camillo Sitte argued that these irregularities were much more the result of conscious town-planning and designing than we acknowledge. I question it. The casual routes through the centre of an old town are largely governed by levels and angles which followed primitive footpaths, while the outer range of narrow and crooked streets marks boundary lines of cultivated property which was afterwards incorporated in the town. Even to-day we trace market gardens and country villas in the trees, sometimes though too rarely, left along new suburban thoroughfares. Were Sitte's thesis correct we should have many more records of municipal regulations and bye-laws, and the disputations they provoke. It is sufficient to hold that the mediæval architect had the instinct to profit by the irregularities affecting his building lines, while the homogeneity of style in any given period preserved that congruity of general aspect which gives unity and character to these old towns, in spite of daring variety in individual treatment. Anyhow we may learn the lesson that dissymmetry need not alarm us unduly, so long as we maintain the affinities of what is best in our civic life.

Thus the street need not be criticized because its features are only broken by lateral views of monuments and open spaces. One requires these spaces, these expansions, for reasons I need not refer to here. One wants a view. I dislike the parsimonious town which is so congested that one

never gets a chance of looking it in the face. One wants to see a town as one approaches it ; but we would also fain be able to look out of a town. Here in Britain we have few of those hill-towns of Italy, Greece, or Spain, which impose themselves upon us when miles away, and from which one can command hills, valleys, and plains ; sunsets ; often enough the sea, that privilege of scenery at once infinite and sublime which offers itself to us without effort or reserve. Our great towns have mostly settled in the plains and along estuaries, far removed from mountains. Nature is a poor accessory to our urban virtues. How differently places respond to varying phases of light and shade ! Murano, for instance, or Aigues Mortes, never seem to be aroused till sunset. Edinburgh is at her best in the Autumn twilight. For Melrose, the Lago di Nemi, and the Colosseum, a full moon. Whistler used to be enraptured by the vague and misty ambiguities of the Thames. I have heard that architecture is never so solemn, perhaps so theatrical, as when the thunderstorms of the Himalayas illuminate those vast monasteries perched on the mountain crags of Thibet. Yes, like ourselves, architecture is susceptible to these influences of the weather and the seasons, reflecting the exhilaration of the sunshine, the depression of the storm. Rain, snow, thaw, fog, hurricane—all leave their impression on the countenance of stone. Mankind and his works are ever swayed to bow before the impulses of Madre Natura.

The street leads us out of the town, to the exit, which is also the entrance, to the point which marks the beginning as well as the end of urban life. The gateway excludes the enemy, welcomes the guest : marks the point beyond which the intruder shall not pass, while opening its doors to those

seeking refuge. It was an emblem of hospitality, and like the church portal occupied an honoured post, and has always played a crucial part in the history of the city. The fabulous Babylon of Herodotus had a hundred gates connected by fifty miles of fortification. Our communities are no longer thus self-contained. Pray where does Manchester begin or Salford end? Where are the Roman gates which once marked the boundaries and emphasized the clear-cut physique of Mancunium, of this ancient foundation? I recall Sir Herbert Warren saying that Manchester has an advantage over Liverpool in that the form of our name records the classical distinction of our ancient pedigree. Had Cicero lived at the appropriate moment, he could have included us in a treatise *de urbibus* as easily as Rome or Alexandria. But all is lost—except philology! and as perchance that memory may play us false, let us pass out of the city gates to the smiling countryside beyond.

After the Fire of London, John Evelyn wanted to preserve the outlines of the ancient city, and suggested that suburbs should be forbidden within ten miles of the *enceinte*, but as in the case of other ideals of that projected reconstruction, apathy took command. In London as elsewhere, the eighteenth century pursued its placid course, bequeathing an achievement of domestic comfort in that array of spacious houses with their conscious sense of intimacy and repose. The tradition ran on into the nineteenth century, and then arose the sudden demand for urban expansion. The suburb as we know it came into being. Its progress was rapid, sensational, and enervating. The deserted village is sad, but the deserted suburb is sadder still,—those areas of endless streets infested with endless houses, uniform where uniformity

is not wanted, diversified where systematic handling would have been helpful,—alternately governed by caprice or cupidity, though more often the product of sheer untutored heedlessness : such is the portrait of the vast wildernesses crowding round our great cities yet not forming part of the body politic, being detached from the full corporate life of their ancestress. That is why I call these suburbs "deserted." I have no objection to an artisan quarter as such. On the contrary, zoning of occupation and residence has many merits. The tendency is natural, for it is the outcome of instinctive aggregation. London name-places have come to signify professions and callings—Harley Street, Fleet Street, Lombard Street, Temple, Whitehall, Covent Garden, and so forth. Even whole towns will specialize in some chosen product,—Sèvres, Meissen, Barnsley, Montreux of Winter Sports fame, and there is a bright spot on the Californian coast of which I cannot recall the official name, but which is known as Moovie City, devoting itself to the break-neck career of compiling cinema films. And towns so to speak specialize in men as they do in output—Baireuth, Stratford-on-Avon, Weimar, Assisi.

But the artisan quarter should be a quarter and not the whole unit. Our tradition is that each house should be a home, one home : and a town of ten or fifteen thousand small houses must be monotonous alike in feature and personality. There can be little play of light or shade in such a welter of identicals. They become caricatures from their very iteration. Even a suburb should be defined, characterized. Even a blank wall can charm by its sense of security or enclosure or intrigue ; but cottages by the thousand, or miles of wall connote the poverty of mere multiplication.

Good suburbs exist, Toronto, Birmingham, and what Henley used to call "leafy Muswell Hill"; and as time goes on the growth of their young trees will veil what is ugly and enhance whatever deserves praise. But let me whisper one word about another kind of suburb, virtuous but perhaps a little stand-offish, the long-range suburb of Southport, Buxton, or Blackpool. The congestion and drab uniformity of the local suburb is partly caused by the disinclination of the well-to-do townsman to live near his work. His contribution to the development of his own town should be the variety of motive introduced by different requirements of architecture, with the tendency to attract centres of shopping, recreation, and leisure, while the public life of each suburb would thereby be diversified extended and enriched. Berlin with its thirty distinct suburbs, Paris with nearly as many, have maintained their direct nexus with the mother-town while developing all their more local associations. This they can and do accomplish without danger of divided allegiance, which in the cases I indicate too often results in a very half-hearted service either to the residential or to the occupational centre. We now devote much attention to suburban problems. Many old mistakes we shall never repeat, but the problem of the existing suburb remains acute —how to infuse variety, life, responsibility, and bring them into closer touch with the corporate life of the greater unit,— in short how to stimulate the *amour propre*, the prestige, and the ambitions of the smaller and more detached community. It is in architecture and town-planning that some of the remedies must be sought.

Nowadays we seldom establish new towns, or if we do we build them like suburbs. I suppose the golden age of town-planning began about B.C. 150 and lasted for 300 years,

during which period at least 120 new towns were founded in Italy, followed by quite as many in the provinces of the Roman Empire. As a rule they were colonies for retired soldiers, or military outposts, which formed the nucleus of defence against the ominous tribal movements on the Northern and Eastern frontiers. This great group of towns came into existence full-grown, designed on the familiar chessboard plan, and laid out in accordance with rectilinear designs which had prevailed since 500 years before Christ. Most of these towns were small, and some of them retain their original dimensions with scarcely a single projection. Both in Spain and Italy these isolated burghs survive, the line of demarcation between town and country being abrupt. Until a few years ago, where Rome suddenly ended the Campagna immediately began, with that immense area of spaciousness—sky above, plains below, mountains beyond—surely the most perfect setting which ever framed a town. Rome still preserves the solitude which is the majestic appanage of great cities.

I often wonder what is the date at which some famous city must have reached its apogee of beauty—not of success and renown—and I am inclined to fancy that the most seductive moment would be that of decline—Ravenna about the year 600, Rome during the Papal exile at Avignon in the fourteenth century, Constantinople in 1450 just before her capture by Islam, Venice when she surrendered her age-long independence at the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797—these in truth are moments of decay ; but at least these cities were homogeneous and had not been disfigured by vulgarisms and inconsistencies. Their old age was decorous and true to type. The soul of man, like the soul of a city chastened by distress, surveys byegone distinction with the retrospect of melancholy

day-dreams, with the hope, perhaps with the expectation that the future may be kind and that from the ashes of a noble tradition, the new and more glorious city shall revive. If as is probable these cities were less beautiful in the heyday of their prosperity than in more troubled times, history teaches us that a Renaissance is at the command of those who know how to grasp their opportunities. After the completion of the Parthenon, Athens may have been a little too perfect for real perfection so far as her central monuments were concerned. And it is well to remember Haverfield's verdict on the town as a whole—that in all its later history Athens was an almost oriental mixture of splendid public buildings with mean and ill-grouped houses . . . and that its streets, narrow and tortuous, unpaved and unlighted, were more like a chaos of mud and sewage than even the usual Greek road (of to-day). Not only did the Parthenon and its adjacent masterpieces lack the loving patina of time, but the gilding and polychromacy of their statues and architectural detail must have combined to give a garishness—I dare not use the more fitting term, which to our eyes would discount the excellence of form and even the purity of line. The mellowed Parthenon was still practically intact in 1687 when it was bombarded by Venice, by the great-grandsons of Titian, Tintoretto, Sansovino : and I imagine at that time the building still retained its supreme and ineffaceable character.

Rome too in the splendour of the Augustan age must have looked very raw. One knows how leisurely is the process of discoloration of marble in the Italian climate, and marble had become the medium of expression in their chief buildings : the newness of the Forum, Palaces, and Baths, the unrelieved and blazing whiteness of the Colosseum

(presumably as glaring as that new national monument in the Piazza Venezia),—all the spickness and spanness of modernity —No ! The affectionate embrace of centuries was required to caress this masonry, to harmonize its outlines, to soften its texture and to deepen its tone. And one other thing would have afflicted us in Rome (though no more than elsewhere), namely the ruthlessness with which older monuments were sacrificed. Modern investigations are revealing the ancient Rome which was so heartlessly covered up by the great builders : not even the most sacred and historic remains were spared. But it has always been so. Rome herself was pillaged for materials for the construction of Santa Sophia, which in turn was looted by the Crusaders who melted the bronze statues to make into bells. As for the history of the old Basilica of St. Peter's, it is tragic how one of the most significant buildings of Christendom was smashed up, with a haste which in itself was an indecency, and to this day scores of Papal tombs lie mutilated or forgotten in the crypt. About this time Pirro Ligorio was describing the best method of grinding up antique statues for the manufacture of lime.

The disclosure of the old ground plan of Rome shows that the ancient city as we now know it, was in itself the reconstruction of an earlier town, which had replaced one if not two primitive settlements. The older classical towns of Greece and Italy seldom if ever show their original town-planning. They differ from the Colonist towns, the really new cities founded afterwards, but like these places they do represent a considered architectural lay-out, though of the reforming rather than the creative type, that is to say obliterations of earlier civilizations rather than building on virgin soil. Foundations may survive, at least in the form of rubble and débris.

Some of the most curious towns in the world, small clay cities rising from the desert plains of Western Asia, resemble sugar-cones standing on level ground, their height being composed of ruin superimposed on ruin,—generations, centuries, æons of successive reconstructions. The lowest foundations of Jerusalem are seventy feet below the present level of the soil. The Rome we see is a relatively modern town, few classical buildings having survived as intact as the Parthenon for instance, or the Pyramids, or the hillside temples of Sicily, while the early Christian structures have been bamboozled and sophisticated beyond recognition. It is even said that classical Rome has so far vanished that hardly any street line of to-day follows an original Roman road. Nor can we be surprised. Rome was sacked by her invaders, sacked by her own Generals, and in the intervals of peace was sacked by her own rulers and inhabitants. She was the most prolific quarry in the world. But her proud indomitable soul survives. It is not the visible city so much as its mystic fame,—its Mirabilia of the spirit more than the marvels of handiwork, which have made Rome eternal and an object of worship and veneration. Names constantly change in Rome. The Pantheon is now called Santa Maria Rotonda, but remains triumphantly pagan. Buildings alter their purpose, but jealously cling to some dim feature of their original destination. Though time after time art has shrunk back abashed by the violence of invader and inhabitant alike, yet these classic ruins survive, flayed and fleeced, providing a slender bridge between the old city and the new dispensation. Rome is too sanguine an entity to become a museum-town like Carcassone, but as the diggers dig on, more of the ancient city is being revealed. Antiquity, which was ill-served by the Middle Ages, strives to re-assert

her supremacy. But Rome well knows that she is inexhaustible, knows that in departure we always have the consolation of hoping to return and begin afresh. It is a renewing, a revivifying personality, certain of itself and its destiny. You seem to see confidence in every face you pass up and down the Corso, and well may this be, for Rome has the calm assurance of incontestable and abiding distinction.

The Orthodox Greek Church, which is tenacious of its ritual and nomenclature, calls Constantinople "New Rome," and like the sister capital, Constantinople is built on seven hills. Civilization had been shaken in the West, and Constantine moved his capital to the Golden Horn. His city became a harbour of refuge, ever providing a rallying-point, and the achievement of Constantinople is its repulse of besiegers—Huns, Slavs, Persians, Arabs time after time, Haroun Al Raschid the hero of the Arabian Nights, Avars, Russians, Latins, Turks—siege after siege for a thousand years, and only one crucial surrender when the world was stupefied by Muhammed's success in 1453. We know little of Constantinople in its great days. Few physical records have been preserved. The Turk must have destroyed between four and five hundred Christian Churches and establishments—others he converted into Mosques, including Santa Sophia the most grandiose church in the world. Originally founded in the fourth century, it was remodelled by Justinian, the Illyrian ploughboy, in 530. He plundered famous shrines for his material, including Delos, Baalbek, and Athens, and produced this romantic and mysterious building all regardless of the Greek masterpieces still intact across the Ægean Sea. Santa Sophia in fact is replete with orientalisms. The East exercised a potent sway upon the builders, on their mosaic decoration

and the somewhat hybrid style of construction we associate with Byzantium. The wealth of its treasury was prodigious. It is in Ravenna that we must seek a pallid and fitful reflexion of Constantinople at its apogee. Ravenna is the microcosm of what we call Byzantine Art,—a tiny little town with a dozen churches, built before 550, and adorned with processions of Saints and Potentates winding along the walls of nave and apse in stiff hieratic procession, gleaming in the reserved brilliance of mosaic executed 1300 years ago. Like her mistress on the Bosphorus, Ravenna was the scene of ceaseless strife throughout the later history of the Empire. Odoacer, then Theodoric the Ostrogoth, then his daughter Amalasuntha whom Justinian attacked, Galla Placidia, the wife, sister, and mother of Emperors, then again the Greeks, the Lombards, Peppin the Frank, the Venetians, the Popes . . . Charlemagne looted it, Gaston de Foix died there, so did Guido da Polenta, so did Dante : what a sequence of names, what a genealogy in the pedigree of greatness, violence, and genius ! The sea deserted the port, withdrawing the lifeblood of commerce and naval enterprise. Like Bruges, or Winchelsea, or Rye, Ravenna settled down to the fastidious obscurity of a dead city, almost with the suspended animation of Pompeii. Ravenna grew lean. Like Ypres as I remember it before the War (the most silent town I ever visited, and doomed to perish in the most diabolical noise of history),—as in Ypres

> The streets like lanes did seem
> Not paved with stones but green. . . .

To-day beyond the Ravenna boundaries, stagnant ditches with a sluggish movement through the marshes replace what was once the invigorating pulse of the sea. Sant' Apollinare

in Classe still stands up though in complete isolation, perhaps less erect than formerly : she seems to lament her lost congregations—seems to beg for a crutch, a buttress, a moral support. All Ravenna seems overpowered with fatigue. Theodoric no longer sleeps in his tomb, that Tirynthian sepulchre roofed in by one great stone weighing 300 tons, but his ghost must haunt the Aryan churches he built, passing along the deserted streets and across the lonely piazzas, recalling the stirring episodes of his life, and the vicissitudes of the town he loved so well.

If Ravenna be the shadow of byegone Constantinople, her prototype is now a vicious or cynical mockery. From the moment of her capture by the Turks she has degenerated, no effort being made to honour the venerable evidence of her tremendous history. All is neglected. Dingy, ill-kempt, harsh, notwithstanding the genial efforts of nature, Constantinople has lost her soul during four and a half centuries of corroding and progressive decay, retaining only the sense of power, the inborn faculty of resistance conferred by a site at the junction of two continents, at the confluence of two seas,—the lasting asset of stability in martial resource and diplomacy, which has seldom deserted her possessor. At least she preserves the tradition of inviolability. But were it not for the inspiring presence of Santa Sophia, debased and defamed as it is, one would look upon Constantinople as like one of those towns which Solomon offered as a gift to Hiram, king of Tyre, but which were refused because they were so dirty and displeasing.

One other great city has a site comparable with that of Constantinople, namely Alexandria, and for the Arts of Peace the situation of the latter excelled ; again two seas, two con-

tinents, and a hospitable climate, with the added advantages of a peninsula, a great lake, and a fertile river. It was well chosen by Alexander the Great to be the second city of the world. It was laid out by Dinocrates who acquired fame in building the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. But what a long tale of disasters! When the Arabians took the place in 640, they boasted that it possessed 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, and 400 theatres. There is a neatness about this computation which makes me rather sceptical of the Arabian arithmetic—though they may have been right, for I can believe anything about a city so precise and well ordered that its five areas were known by the names of A, B, C, D, and E. The history of Alexandria is a sequence of eclipses. There were 600,000 inhabitants in the days of prosperity, early last century not more than 10,000. Notwithstanding surrenders, massacres, and burnings, the place seems indestructible, always reviving, though she will never again live a life of greatness. She will neither die with decision, nor will she live on in dignified retirement, inspiring the affection aroused by those towns which at first seem dead but in reality slumber. The really dead town, the skeleton town as one may call it, such as Palmyra, evokes a different emotion, for one cannot but lament its catastrophe. In the third century of our era a sudden and overwhelming effacement crushed this rich and sumptuous town, governed by that intriguing character Zenobia, Queen of Odeynath. She was of Egyptian race. She found herself immersed in the whirlpool of passions which led to revolt and civil war, ambitions which produced their crop of assassinations, public anger and family feuds which marked this period of bloody and consistent brutality,—yet an epoch of noble edifices, splendid towns, emphatic souls. Far beyond

Damascus and arising from the hot cruel sands, the horizon is cut by the great avenue of columns which formed the processional colonnade nearly a mile long, all that is left of this colossal achievement. The ground is strewn with broken masonry like the rubbish heap of a builder's yard. All the way to Damascus are traces of other vanished towns. Where did the débris of Palmyra go, what happened to the massive structures of these other places? Doubtless some of their exotic marbles have been exiled and still charm the eye in Aix-la-Chapelle or San Marco, others are hidden beneath the whitewash of Santa Sophia, or incorporated in the Chantreys of Christian Rome. But Zenobia's city is the very emblem of desolation. As a town it is swept from the face of the earth, and what is left merely represents what successive invaders were too tired to overthrow. The elaborate system of water-supply which sustained a large population with its baths and fountains, its flocks and herds, cornfields, and gardens, giving the oasis the Syrian name of the Palm-grove, has dwindled down to two tiny springs. Even these rebelled. Their water has turned brackish and refuses to welcome those who visit these gaunt dry bones. The history of fresh water is one constant factor in the history of civilization, but I must not pursue this theme. How forbidding is the picture of Palmyra's grim skeleton! "When one buildeth and another pulleth down, what profit have they then but labour?"

Happily the suppression of liberty does not always involve the extinction of a town. I always think that Venice showed but small evidence of her sustained and spirited love of autonomy when she abdicated to Napoleon. But her victor was irresistible, and Venice had refused to acknowledge the

French Republic. Napoleon entered the city in May, 1797, and in the following Autumn the Treaty of Campo Formio brought a long history to its close, and assigned the province to Austria. Three or four years earlier Goldoni, the matchless exponent of Venetian life who had been living at the Court of Louis XVI., was deprived of his pension and died in destitution: so Venice had her grievance against the Republic. Goldoni's interpretation of Venetian life confirms those paintings of his contemporaries, perhaps as living and vivid transcripts of a town and its personality as the art of illustration whether by painting, engraving, photography or film, has ever accomplished. Pietro Longhi, Guardi, the Carlevaris, and a number of less-known painters whose biographies deserve reconstruction, have left ten thousand canvases, each giving some view of the town or some phase of its occupation—dry matter-of-fact inventories to the casual observer, but infinitely more subtle and penetrating than one fancies at first sight. These painters of the latter half of the eighteenth century, the last exponents of a glorious tradition, detected every nuance and recorded every pretty fantasy of their time. "Let no flower of spring pass us by!" Their portraits of the town itself and its scenes of Campo, Church, and Canal, are so true that at every turn along that baffling network of streets, or as one crosses any one of the 400 bridges, the name of the Canaletti springs to the mind. Venice pictorially is the Venice of everyday life, the place to which one may most accurately apply the word "picturesque,"—just as San Gemignano, perched among the Tuscan uplands with its little forest of towers hemming in the central Piazza delle sette Torre, is the key to the architectural backgrounds of half the paintings of the Quattrocento. But in Venice the

survival is virtually complete, and in the latest school of painters we have the true effigy of the generation which prepared the way for Campo Formio. Venice, to tell the truth, had become a little shabby. The quays and landing steps against which the water lapped as wistfully as to-day, had grown weedy and dilapidated. Russet sails which dotted the lagoons were often torn. Doors, shutters, gondolas, ships—all their paint seems to wear thin, the very roofs are pale and anæmic. We praise Palladio, and Wren, and Arnolfo di Cambio, for making their buildings conform to their purpose, and we chide the later giants, Fuga and Vanvitelli because their churches resemble theatres : and yet here in Venice the palace becomes a tenement and the monastery a warehouse, without apparent loss of dignity and with none of picturesqueness. But if her colouring had become dim, if the ardent tones of the famous Venetian scenes by Carpaccio or Tintoretto had given way to a subdued palette, the inhabitants themselves kept their love for bright clothes and vivacious society. The ordinary scene on the Piazza of San Marco supplies the clue to the enigma of Venetian decay. We see an animated affair. It is partly a gathering of commerce, business men talking to mariners and foreign traders,—Chinamen, Negroes, Levantines, Indians, Northerners, all are there—partly, too, the avocations of local trade by retailers of vegetables and fish ; but pervading the whole assemblage and ever mixed up in haphazard confusion, one sees Venice taking the air, promenading up and down as they gossip, laughing at the mountebank, coaxed by the cheapjack, cajoled by the quack doctor, tempted by the peepshow, cheated by them all ; conjurers, peasants, hawkers, cutpurses, stroll about among the smart set, here and there a lawyer or a priest, a

fantastic medley of life, a kaleidoscope of humanity, all busy, all idle. Many wear masks in this unending carnival. Perhaps there was something feverish in their gaiety, and concealed beneath those flowing cloaks one may suspect the stiletto. The intention of these shallow souls was towards indolence. The obligations of service had disappeared. Venice had become the Kingdom of the Flâneur. All life was a harlequinade, a little world of make-believe.

The background to these scenes of nonchalance is the staunch unchanging San Marco. Seville Cathedral gives us the sense of spaciousness. In St. Peter's we get the much more commonplace feeling of distance. In San Marco I rejoice because the interior is small. No church so far as I know is better placed in relation to its town that San Marco. Its site is unrivalled in that all activities cluster about it—Government, Palace, Municipio, Prison, Mint, Library, Commerce, Caravanserai :—all men must converge on that Piazza interwoven as it is with the ambitions of every Venetian of every age. The Campanile too, now a frank and honest replica, gave aerial scale which is exactly what the low frontage of the Church and the rhomboid shape of the Piazza require. One is grateful, too, for the calm and reflective outlook which noiselessness ought to confer. No trams ! They are sibilant in Milan. At Naples they shriek, at Bologna they scream like frightened children, and in lots of other places they howl. I remember Walter Pater once saying that when he first visited Florence he felt that he was in a "carpeted city." One might equally apply the happy phrase to Venice.

The collapse of the Campanile in 1902 was a cruel blow, and it was only when the fatal diagnosis was at last pronounced by the engineers, that Venice quite realized its affection for the

familiar tower, visible for miles around, and marking from the most remote corner of the lagoons the central pivot and landmark of the province. For several days before the final disaster the Piazza had been crowded with people who hurried in to pay their homage of devotion, to pray mercy for the threatened monument. They pushed close up to the base. Troops were paraded and forced the people back to a safety line, where a strong cordon was maintained till the end. Great fears were felt both for St. Marks and for Sansovino's Libreria Vecchia which is only a few yards from the tower : but when the building fell it subsided on to its own foundations, into itself so to speak, a slow and even deliberate descent which spared its illustrious friends. Never was dissolution more scrupulous and considerate. Even some of the precious sculpture at the base was afterwards recovered intact.

A few months later when I went to see the débris (ever so much smaller than I expected) I happened to meet a priest of San Giorgio Maggiore, the massive church across the Giudecca canal. He described the closing scenes. He had watched the tragic *dénouement* by day and kept vigil by night. It appears that the bricks had grown desiccated. Their cohesive power had perished, and the tremendous weight of the fabric ground them into powder. Dust to dust. A few hours before the end, *la morte* as he called it, the Tower began to bleed to death. Little streams of water seemed to spurt out, first at one point then at another, sometimes three or four of them at once, and constantly changing their position. After falling a few yards from the wound they vanished, for they were jets of sand from the pulverised bricks which were dispersed when forced into the open air. The priest could see the crowds in the Piazetta at a safe point by the water edge.

They were awed. Occasionally low gusts of subdued conversation would come across to San Giorgio, but generally the crowd was silent, assisting at a death-bed. Zanipolo and the great church of the Frari rang the passing bell : and I think he said there was a service on the Piazza. At last the tower collapsed. He described it as if the movement were leisurely, a gesture of fatigue and slow to the point of reluctance. It fell without any apparent crisis, and one may be sure with unconquerable dignity. Then the pent-up emotions of the Venetian crowd gave way, bursting out deep and uncontrollable. This poignant cry of distress, the collective lamentation for a bitter and ineffaceable loss, swept across the broad canal to the sorrowing priest : a cry so heartrending that he must have learnt that the soul of New Venice was true and responsive as ever. And I, too, feel that we may forget the Treaty of Campo Formio.

Towers and towns may fall, towns and towers will rise again : sometimes according to the old pattern, but much more often the effort of a fresh generation or a different race. Not very long ago the Obijway tribe of Red Indians had a settlement on the shores of a huge inland sea, and their humble village of log huts was dedicated to the God of Thunder. Its name was She-kag-ong, now softened into Chicago. It is a curious name, a soft and euphonious name even if it does mean something dreadful ; but somehow it does not quite seem to characterize the town. To use an expression in vogue in Chicago, the name lacks " Pep." This word is not a tribute to the incisive prose of Mr. Samuel Pepys : it is merely the diminutive form of pepper. You will remember how Sir John Falstaff peppered two rogues in buckram suits. Chicago possesses more pep than its easy-going name suggests. It is

all pep,—*civitas pepissima.* One likes to read character of citizenship into the name of a city. Sparta will always be a masculine town, Versailles a feminine town. Canberra, the budding capital of Australia, conveys nothing to my mind, except to remind me of something I never encountered before. I am sure it will be a neutral, sexless, pepless place. There is a proverb that the names of neighbouring burghs in the old kingdom of Fife, typify the degree of energy (shall I say of pep) displayed by a workman when engaged on time-work and piece-work respectively. When on time-work he sacrifices to the shrine of Auchtermuchty, Auchtermuchty ; but on piece-work to the name of Cupar o' Fife, Cupar o' Fife. What a busy pepful rhythm that is. I am always stimulated by the thought when I pass through Cupar which has thus come to possess what is called a slogan. In old days the slogan was the gathering note of the fighting tribe. Now it is a hybrid nickname—not the thoughtful and discriminating epithets which honoured Italian towns—*Padova la dotta, Genova la superba, Mantova la gloriosa*—other epithets are *fedele, grassa, degna, l'armata.* The slogan is something invented *ad hoc.* Chicago has earned its share of credit, for she pepped away blithely at the recent Convention of Advertisers at Wembley. They were good enough to send me their propaganda. They called it literature. There were fervent appeals to the Goddess of Truth, a certain amount of onomatopœia, and a good deal of familiarity as well : I was not mollified by their frequent terms of endearment. It is all part of the Gospel of Pep. Right or wrong does not matter so long as you repeat it often enough. Pep pays. For instance a sea-side resort beginning with the letter B, must call itself Breezy or Bracing :—Blackpool, Brighton, Broadstairs, and so on.

These publicists are not the first to give new and unearned reputations to towns, or to patent medicines either ; but their pleasure in this benevolence is so open and unconcealed as to conciliate. Yet some places suffer from these enthusiasms. Lots of people fancy that Munich, Yarmouth, and Cheddar do nothing except brew beer, smoke herrings, and press cheese. Towns find it hard to live down some idle prejudice. All Montaigne could remember of Urbino was that wherever he went, he had either to climb up or climb down. I have heard the whisper of prejudice directed against Wigan, and quite unjustly. Wigan is a great personality with a homely face. *Voilà tout.* Chicago herself suffers from her prowess in packing pork :—7,500,000 hogs every year, and if maize is cheap the number will rise to 10,000,000. Also 3,000,000 cattle and 4,000,000 sheep are carved, canned, and corned annually. There are side lines in bristles, fertilizers, and glue. It is a horrid vocabulary and a horrid process, however toothsome and succulent the goods ; and this legend of canning is so deep-rooted that people who live quite close enough to Cook County, Illinois, to know better, believe that Chicago's soul has got immersed in the pursuit. Of course it is a busy place. Its briskness is aggressive, its noise indescribable, and its prose diffuse. But Chicago as it emerges from a sequence of disastrous fires becomes more and more a proud city, a city built for and by proud men. There are competing, even conflicting motives, which is common enough—as in St. Andrews between Golf and Learning, in Windsor between a College and a Court, at Doncaster between Industry and Sport. No doubt in Chicago the goal of commercial success is specially magnetic. Nothing is left to chance : but big business apprehends new and vital aspects of leisure. There is a notable

and growing public spirit, hampered by the problem of assimilating large and diverse racial elements, but gradually overcoming this sectionalism, and unifying what will one day be the greatest urban community in the world. The structure of the city reflects a strong and vigorous personality, though perhaps a little speculative in method. But decision is seldom absent. The Pyramids look as though they had been built by slaves, Salisbury Cathedral by craftsmen, the fine Woolworth building in New York and similar structures in Chicago, by virile and emphatic minds. Much of the recent architecture in the United States is quite admirable in quality and scholarship, and nearly always strong as well. The future of Chicago is an absorbing theme. Its precocious growth is being controlled with indomitable courage and boundless resource. Chicago has a vast horizon. Its frontage on Lake Michigan stretches for twenty-five miles, the distance from here to Halifax, and the lake is as big as Scotland.

There are few high towers in Manchester though there are many accomplished chimney-stalks. I have never tested the view. Were I to do so I should naturally recall Leland's observation that Manchester is the "fairest, best builded, quickest and most populous town of Lancashire." How far has the judgment of 1538 been upheld? I wonder what I should see, and moreover what I should not see, for the horizon is circumscribed by a capricious climate and other discouraging features. But Manchester would stand out as a centre of tremendous power and responsibility. A radius of thirty miles from the Town Hall must enclose the biggest population for its area in the world. It is a city surrounded by a constellation of towns and villages. For every time the word "town" occurs in the Bible, the word "city" must be used thirty or

forty times—cities with their villages, and cities with "suburbs for cattle." Here the term city is justified by scale, and by its close relations with smaller communities, perhaps nascent cities themselves, in the neighbourhood, all connected by commerce and personal affinities, while maintaining the forms and status of complete autonomy. But of the city itself, the central focus of Manchester, what would one see? Firstly of course the site of the new Art Gallery: then perhaps the University and the Rylands Library,—late arrivals, for after a long history we are finishing where Alexandria began,—but striving manfully and with success to overtake lost opportunities, and to provide the equipment which grows more and more vital to every phase of enterprise. Then a long narrow shaft of light would define itself as a stream of water running to the sea, affording direct access to Baltimore or Shanghai or Bombay, and giving a long-drawn perspective to all who can project their minds to the beyond. Descending from the tower one would find oneself in a busy scene, "the quickest town" as Leland said:—so busy that all are pressed for time, so busy that the evening paper appears before high noon, so busy that leisure has become a rush, and repose the most elusive of occupations.

I should learn that Manchester boasts a name which is partly a compliment, partly a soubriquet, "Cottonopolis,"—the city of the fabric that all must wear, a source of comfort and cleanliness and health. It is a grand family of towns which bears the surname "polis":—the cities of Constantine, of the Emperor Hadrian, of our own good Queen Anne: there is Heliopolis the City of the Sun, Acropolis the glorious summit of Athens, Metropolis and Cosmopolis in general parlance, even Necropolis the most diffused of all, for the City

of the Dead has claimed its station in the heart of every living community. Let us admit that Cottonopolis is not always applied to us with the unreserved wish to flatter. It has perhaps a nuance of something drab and smoky, with a suggestion of objectives which exact but little spiritual or intellectual effort. I am glad that Professor Reilly demonstrates in this volume that Manchester contains fine buildings, not merely honest and serviceable structures well suited to their purpose (which alone authorizes praise), but buildings notable for harmonious and scholarly design. He is telling us this, just because so many of them seem to do small justice to themselves, and *a fortiori* to the City as a whole. Their setting is too often inappropriate or apologetic. I quote, but I do not endorse, the dictum that virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set: and the intermediate buildings of Manchester, the interlopers which provide the plain setting, traduce the gems.

We are bewildered by the incongruities, hesitations, and congestions of our great cities. "Quelqu'un demandait à un paysan: Avez-vous vu Paris? Non, répondit l'homme des champs; j'y suis allé une fois, mais les maisons m'ont empêché de voir la ville." And what was true of Paris before the advent of Baron Hausmann is even more applicable to big English towns, where the tradition of corporate sentiment in town-planning perished a century ago. Fitness of the town was forgotten in searching for fitness of the building, so much so that at last the unit of the building lost cohesion and good sense, and the tradition of beauty and romance which still prevailed in the eighteenth-century architecture, grew dim. Many places which enjoy a world-wide reputation for efficiency are inchoate and chaotic as towns. Marked skill is shown in the organization of everything except the fabric of the town itself. We are now emerging from a period which showed lamentable

dereliction of this civic duty. We are beginning to take stock. Let me mention the recent case of Sheffield. Mr. Patrick Abercrombie was commissioned by the Corporation to take stock. He has inventoried the place, audited it, surveyed it ; —not merely as regards the actual levels and contours, geology, minerals, and watershed, but he has analysed the influence of these factors upon urban development, passing on to the industrial survey of zoning, transport, and housing, with all the concurrent problems of health, open spaces, and education. We have in effect the basis for a reconstruction plan, improving the town without making the fatal gaffe of suburbanising the country. Much can be done for the future of Sheffield, but no more can be recorded of its situation to-day, of the datum line from which all fresh progress must start. Sheffield now knows herself better than any great town of the Empire. Her knowledge is the best guarantee that the errors of yesterday will not be repeated, and that her efforts of to-morrow will be fruitful of public weal. Henceforward Sheffield can never make a mistake arising from faulty knowledge or defective study of existing facts.

I have often thought that every town of note should have its own honorary architect, the consultant to whom questions of policy, style, or conservation should be referred,—but I generally conclude that jewels like Rothenburg, Pienza, Delft, or Pickering would never have survived a succession of such appointments. But that every great city should know itself I entertain no doubt. The introspection may produce remorse from which repentance flows, and whence amendment is almost certain. The scale of stabilized error is so gigantic that we can never make good all our follies and omissions, but the future is before us. The Soul of a City may be imprisoned, lying concealed below the surface, yet so near it ; ever striving

to arise and grasp the full measure of its hopefulness and endeavour. The Soul will always be there, varying from one generation to another; at one moment thrilled by success and shining in the virtues of accomplished good; at another darkened by affliction when the victim of pestilence or the invader; or else when shackled by the worst of all its enemies, apathy. While the soul of man changes its stature, it is influenced by the environment of its home, just as its home though inherited must reflect the character of its citizen. In the history of an ancient town we march at the very end of a long procession, the rearguard of our ancestry, the vanguard of our successors. Yes, while the present is ours we must learn to look upon the future as more than ever ours too. Our descendants will profit by our forethought or suffer from our neglect, judging us as we judge the earlier figures in the vanished pageant of urban life. What better work can we achieve than make their path more easy, their homes more intimate, their public buildings more noble, their gardens more green—in a word that the city they inherit from us shall be more honourable, stately, and true. Of all earthly ideals that of the perfect city is the most romantic and inspiring, for it comprises the happiness of our race and the welfare of those who follow. The youngest, those nearest to ourselves, shall be the first to reap the harvest.

> . . . On either side the street
> Which was exceeding fair and wide
> Sweet mansions there mine eyes did meet,
> Green trees the shaded doors did hide.
> My chiefest joys
> Were girls and boys,
> That in those streets still up and down did play
> Which crowned the town with constant holiday.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF MANCHESTER MEN.

LORD CRAWFORD has observed that the fine buildings of Manchester are placed in an unworthy setting ; that her soul is struggling to be free to express itself.

Every one who knows the City will agree.

Perhaps it is equally true that the fine men and women, the fine thoughts and deeds of Manchester, which are well known and conspicuous, have but a sordid background of materialism against which they stand in high relief ; and that they have emerged from conditions of life and thought that are unworthy of a great city.

What are we to think of a people who tolerate such conditions ?

Are these really the expression of their soul ? Are their minds so set upon the material side of life that deeper feelings, higher aspirations, love of beauty, compassion, find no outlet ? A population from which have emerged so many fine personalities, so many great actions, must surely have more in it than reaches the eye of a visitor.

Mingling with the crowds in the streets, or visiting centres of business he may well wonder what are the real interests, desires, and thoughts of those whom he meets.

They have a great reputation not only as strenuous and determined folk, but also as thoughtful and intellectual people

with high aspirations. Where in their own city and in their visible conduct of life is the evidence of this character to be found? Does not a drab life indicate a drab mind?

Manchester has been a great centre for lovers of art, and especially of music. Was cultivation of the æsthetic sense a real product of Manchester or an importation? With the disappearance of certain notable personalities the theatre has ceased to mean what it did. Does even music hold its old place in the affections of the people?

Very few large cities are so poorly supplied with bookshops; there is no attractive civic centre, no beautiful garden in the heart of the City; little evidence of a determination to raise the minds of the vast crowd of workers above the material engrossment of daily work and amusement; the Art Galleries and Museums are not known and used as they should be.

There is truth in all this; and yet after eleven happy years spent in Manchester my mind recurs not to these obvious faults but to certain fundamentally good characteristics which lie below them.

It is these which make one feel that you have in Manchester a population that may require stirring to free itself from the sordid inheritance of the too rapid industrial growth of the City in the nineteenth century, but that possesses sterling qualities, and can respond. Those who look below the surface will find redeeming features in the great educational, social, and religious organizations which are conducting a strenuous and effective fight against apathy and indifference.

I must confess, however, that a Southerner on first setting foot in what is to him a new country, may possibly feel himself to be among a strange people. The impression conveyed

by the smoke, the noise, the rain, and the squalor, that so often pervade the district, may, unless the visitor is fortunate in the time and manner of his visit, fail to be removed by his first intercourse with the inhabitants. Although such a visitor is sure to find himself in a very short time quite at home with the Northerners, he may be disconcerted by the manner of their first approach; and their direct and bluff welcome can easily be mistaken by the newcomer for roughness of character.

The first time a Southerner enters a Manchester shop he may be addressed by the proprietor as "my dear friend"; an approach which would probably be suspected by a stranger in London.

But it does not take long to discover that, generally speaking, every one in Manchester is anxious and willing to become really your "dear friend." As a result there is a total absence of that suspicion with which any two Englishmen of the South regard one another when they first meet, and which makes a mere personal acquaintance take a long time to ripen into a permanent friendship.

Again, a Londoner is sometimes irritated (especially at dinners and functions where speeches prevail) by the insistence of the Manchester man upon the independence and supremacy of his own city and his dislike of even appearing to follow the lead of London in anything. It may worry the visitor, like the insistence of the American upon the superior magnitude of al things American. But he has to realize that the Northerner has an intense civic pride which is rare in the Londoner and is a virtue which he might with advantage acquire.

A very short period of life and work in this city soon

leads one to realize that the social manners and customs are based upon a fundamental and cheering principle : namely, that every man is as good as his neighbour, and that two people meeting on terms of perfect equality have no need to waste time in the preliminaries of acquaintanceship.

If those who visit the North for only a short period are disposed to come away with the impression that the people whom they have met have been rough in manner and discouraging in address, they should learn to realize that this is an entirely false impression, due to a misunderstanding of the inherent directness, the freedom from shyness or humbug, which is the most attractive character of the Northerner.

In no place of which I have any experience is it easier to make real friendships, and to maintain them, than in Manchester.

The characteristics of which I am speaking are those that strike one as belonging to the whole population, whether well-educated or not, and whether belonging to the business, the academic, or the industrial classes. Independence of judgment is probably one of the things that has made the Northerner so successful in trade and business ; there has been no attempt to keep up false appearances ; every man is judged on his own merits ; and no matter what the work is which one may be called upon to undertake, I believe that anyone would find Manchester colleagues inspiriting to work with as associates.

It may be thought that in University life one would only be brought into close contact with one section of the population ; but as a matter of fact, in addition to the teachers of whom some are of Northern origin and some imported from other parts of the country, there are the business men who take so vital a part in the conduct of University affairs by serving on its Council and Committees, and there are the students drawn from every

conceivable type of home in the district ; while through its extra-mural activities, the University is further brought into very close touch with the industrial workers.

The characteristics which I have mentioned seem to me to belong to them all. The two types that impressed me most during my life in the City were the industrial workers, of whom I would gladly have seen more if it had been possible, and the business men in the persons of some of their most conspicuous leaders.

The workers, whom one met at, or in connection with, the tutorial classes, were persons of unusual mental activity and intellectual independence. I am sure that many of the lecturers to those classes found that they were learning from discussions with their students even more than they could teach them in their lectures. In no part of the country is it so easy for lecturer and student to have free and frank discussions on those equal terms which are supposed to be the leading principle of the "tutorial classes for working people" ; these classes have always been based on the idea of close fellowship.

Take next the business men ; the group of commanding personalities concerned with the government of the University. They have no time to waste ; their whole lives are spent in forming rapid judgments ; their training and experience make them different from their academic colleagues who are accustomed to criticize and discuss with great thoroughness any action that may be proposed. I was always impressed by the rapidity with which unfamiliar academic problems were understood and appreciated by the business man ; the sympathetic consideration which he was always prepared to give to them ; and finally the suddenness and directness of the judgment which he would form upon them.

Passing to matters outside University affairs, and thinking of those occasions on which some new civic enterprise was to be undertaken, nothing impressed me more than the way in which a group of half-a-dozen men and women would meet together to discuss some entirely new proposal; would, if it impressed them, then and there decide to take it up, and without wasting any time on prolonged discussions, make up their minds to launch the enterprise and to carry it through with determination. When one contrasts with this the too frequent tendency elsewhere to approach a new enterprise with feelings of doubt and suspicion, the habit of burying it for a period in a committee, or series of committees, the prolonged discussion which not infrequently follows their reports, and the ultimate hanging up of the original proposal, one feels that there is something inspiring in the atmosphere of the North, and in the mental attitude of its inhabitants towards new ideas.

These characteristics of the Manchester man are hard to beat.

THE STORY OF EDUCATION IN MANCHESTER.

MANCHESTER in 1536 was described by the antiquary Leland as "the fairest, best buildid, quickkest and most populous tounne of all Lancastreshire." About ten years earlier Hugh Oldham, a Lancashire man who was Bishop of Exeter, noted the "pregnant wit" of children of the county and their lack of education. To serve their needs he endowed in Manchester a free grammar school, believing that "the bringing up of children in their adolescency and to occupying them in good learning is the chief cause of knowledge, and learning them when they shall come to the age of virility, or whereby they may the better know, love, honour and dread God and His laws." In 1525, six years after Oldham's death, his representatives, Hugh and Joan Bexwicke, carrying out the founder's design, executed a deed which placed the government of the school in the hands of twelve laymen, and gave it close connection with Corpus Christi College, Oxford, towards the foundation of which, by Bishop Foxe of Winchester, Hugh Oldham had made a large contribution. Believing that the liberal science or art of grammar is the ground and fountain of all other liberal arts and sciences and that the science of grammar is the gate by which all else is learnt and known, Oldham made his foundation a grammar school and by his statutes gave the governing body freedom to change and reform the course of study and the educational arrangements of the

school because it was foreseen that in time to come changes in circumstance would call for many alterations which at the time of the foundation of the school could not possibly be foreseen. Hugh Oldham's school is the link between Manchester and the Renaissance. It has played a great part, especially since the institution of paying scholars in 1867, in English higher secondary education. It has won world-wide fame and is to-day a true representative of the intellectual movement to which it owes its birth.

Another link with mediæval Manchester is Chetham's Hospital and Library. This ancient building was finished about 1425. It was granted in 1422 by Thomas De La Warre, Rector of the Parish of Manchester and the last of the second line of Barons of Manchester, as a house for the clergy of the Collegiate Church. At the dissolution of the College in 1547, the building passed to the Crown and was transferred to the Earl of Derby, who used it as a temporary residence. Under the Commonwealth the buildings were sequestrated by the Government and the buildings of the old College fell into disrepair. The trustees of Humphrey Chetham of Manchester, who died in 1653, carried out his intention by buying the buildings and converting them into a hospital for poor boys and a library for public use. The twin institutions were formally dedicated in 1656 and have been administered under a Royal Charter granted by King Charles II. in 1665. The hospital provides maintenance, clothing, and education for ninety-four boys, who are admitted between the ages of six and ten. Junior boys up to the age of about eleven are educated in the hospital and then enter for the examination for free places in the secondary and central schools of Manchester. Under this scheme, which came into operation in 1927, twenty-

two boys are attending secondary schools and nineteen are in central schools in the City. These boys will be maintained in the hospital until they reach the age of sixteen. Chetham's Hospital is the oldest Blue Coat School in the country. More than four thousand boys have been educated on its foundation. Chetham's Library is one of the oldest public libraries in Europe. Housed in what used to be the Fellows' dormitories, it contains more than 100,000 books and manuscripts. It is rich in works of local history and topography, in archæology and antiquarian literature, in classics and theology. It possesses a large number of manuscripts relating to local history and genealogy, and is open to the public on week-days for study and research.

Manchester Grammar School and Chetham's Hospital and Library remind us that Manchester is no modern city. Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans held this as a strong place. The beginnings of the staple trade of the town go back to the thirteenth century. The cotton trade became important in the later part of the seventeenth century. The town grew steadily during the first half of the eighteenth century and had in 1729 a population of about 15,000. There is romance in the history of Manchester. Deansgate has associations with the Arthurian legend. The ballad "Farewell Manchester" recalls the loyalty of many of its inhabitants to the Jacobite cause. An ancient town rooted in the Middle Ages, it has had a long educational history. Though all but one of what may have been a number of pre-Reformation schools have perished, a strong social tradition persisted. This expressed itself throughout the history of pre-Industrial Revolution Manchester in educational plans and institutions. In 1640, for example, Henry Fairfax sent to his brother, the

second Lord Fairfax, for presentation to the Long Parliament a petition for the establishment of a University in Manchester. The petition, which had been adopted at a public meeting, drew the attention of Parliament to the difficulties under which the north of England lay through its distance from Oxford and Cambridge and through the high cost of living at those Universities. The petitioners held out hopes of local benefactions for a new University, for which they believed Manchester to be the fittest place on the ground that "it is almost the centre of these northern parts, a town of great antiquity, formerly both a city and a sanctuary and now of great fame and ability by the happy traffic of its inhabitants, for its situation, provision of food, fuel and buildings, as happy as any town in the northern parts of the kingdom." The answer was that a University could be erected in Manchester only by a Bill in Parliament and that Lord Fairfax was not sanguine of a happy issue. The times were unpropitious. Strafford and Laud had already been impeached. And, when the matter came up again, a petition from York blocked the hopes of Manchester, and Cromwell, as an outcome of their rivalry, instituted the University of Durham.

Among the citizens of Manchester in the seventeenth century was William Hulme, who after the loss of his only son in 1673 bequeathed all his property for the maintenance of four exhibitions "of the poorest sort of bachelors for the space of four years after the date of their degree at Brasenose College, Oxford." Hulme's bequest became operative at his death in 1691, and the income from his estates in Manchester and the neighbourhood was devoted to the maintenance of these exhibitions. After the lapse of a century the land greatly increased in value and the Hulme Trustees were enabled by

Acts of Parliament to extend the number of exhibitions at Brasenose and to give large sums of money in various ways to the Church of England. This wealthy Trust was reorganized and, under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners in 1881, provided for the foundation of new schools in Manchester, Oldham, and Bury, and for a Hall of Residence for Church of England students attending Owens College. The Hulme Grammar School established under this scheme was opened in 1887. It has now over 500 boys, in addition to a preparatory department. New buildings were opened in 1927.

Nor were the educational activities in Manchester in the seventeenth century restricted to boys. There are records, brought together by Miss Gardiner in her "English Girlhood at School" of a school for girls kept by Mrs. Parnell Amye from 1638-1673, of a school for girls kept by a minister in Manchester, and of Madame Frankland's school, to which Ralph Thoresby of Leeds brought his sister.

The town was divided in religious and political sympathies and this showed itself in the varied provision which was made for the education of the young. But the quiet and steady growth of the town, which continued till about the middle of the eighteenth century, was disturbed by a rapid increase of population, which began about 1770. Within thirty years the population had more than trebled. In the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, it rose again from 70,000 to 150,000. Immigration from all parts of the country and from Ireland, attracted by the opportunities for employment in the cotton trade, submerged the older Manchester and produced the problem of an urban proletariat. With this the machinery of local government was quite inadequate to cope. Manchester had no municipal government. The

Court Leet met twice a year and appointed a Borough Reeve and other officers, whose powers were insufficient to grapple with the evils which sprang from the swift disorderly growth of the town. The evil was only palliated by the appointment under an Act of 1791 of a body of commissioners for police, lighting, and paving. Manchester was not incorporated as a modern borough till 1838. The old régime entrenched a conservative tradition. When Manchester began to grapple with the many-sided problem of public education, its chief difficulties lay in the inadequacy of its machinery for local government and in the resistance which one side of its tenacious social tradition offered to any thorough-going measures of administrative reform. If a clean sweep had been possible about 1780, many of the social evils caused by the Industrial Revolution might have been averted.

For, in the eighties of the eighteenth century, Manchester numbered among its citizens a brilliant group of far-seeing men who realized the urgent need for social reform and conceived plans which, though thwarted in immediate realization, made a deep impression on public opinion and proved to be the beginnings of the modern educational movement in the thought of Manchester. Outstanding among these was Dr. Thomas Percival, born at Warrington in 1740 and one of the first students enrolled in the Warrington Academy. After a course of study at the Universities of Edinburgh and Leyden, he settled in Manchester in 1767 and quickly won a high reputation by his writings on economic and social subjects. It was at his house that the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society was founded in 1781. He endorsed in 1783 Dr. Barnes' plan for the improvement and extension of liberal education in Manchester. He helped in the establish-

ment of the College of Arts and Sciences, in the government of which members of both political parties were associated. The Science College during its short life provided lectures on chemistry and courses on bleaching, dyeing, and calico printing. Dr. Percival was Chairman of the New College in Manchester to which Dr. Barnes brought John Dalton from Kendal as Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry. After the outbreak of malignant fever in Manchester and many of the surrounding towns, Dr. Percival traced much of the evil to bad sanitary conditions, especially in the factories. He was the moving spirit in the foundation of the Manchester Board of Health, which applied itself to sanitary reform and foreshadowed the Factory Acts. Among his colleagues on the Board of Health was the first Sir Robert Peel who, in consequence of what he had learnt through the inquiries of the Board of Health, introduced in the House of Commons in 1802 a Bill for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others employed in Cotton and other Mills and in Cotton and other Factories, with the objects of limiting the hours of the labour of children (and prohibiting night-work), of providing for instruction of all apprentices and of obtaining registration for inspection of factories. With Dr. Percival begins the scientific study of the new social problems of Manchester. An essential part of his remedy for social evils was public education. In his "Autobiographic Sketches" De Quincey describes Dr. Percival, who was his parents' physician: "He was a literary man of elegant tastes and philosophic habits. He had been a favoured correspondent of the most eminent Frenchmen at that time who cultivated literature jointly with philosophy. Voltaire, Diderot, Maupertuis, Condorcet, and

D'Alembert had all treated him with distinction." De Quincey reflects the alarm felt by his mother at the tendencies of Dr. Percival's opinions. The new reforming group in Manchester was confronted by the opposition of those who shrank from heterodoxy in religious belief.

Another colleague of Dr. Percival was Robert Owen, who had come to Manchester in 1787. He was elected a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1793 and thus became familiar with the careful inquiries which Dr. Percival and his friends were making into the condition of the factory population of Manchester. He realized the need for great changes in the environment of the rising generation and especially for public education. Owen's mind moved steadily forward towards the principle of complete control by the national government of the education of children and the conditions of their upbringing. Opposed to him were those who, like Joseph Priestley, dreaded government control as likely to deaden individual initiative and to repress intellectual freedom. Midway between these two extremes of conviction were men like Dr. Percival, who believed that the most practical remedy lay in organized voluntary effort helped by improvements in local government and by Parliamentary restrictions on the conditions of labour and the sanitation of factories. The problem grew more menacing year by year. But most people, blinded by a sense of prosperity, could not see the dangers. Those who realized them were daunted by the many-sidedness of the problem. Town planning, good sanitation, water supply, open spaces, education, control of the hours of labour of children, were all needed together. Local reform, though valuable, was insufficient because immigrants poured in from

other districts where similar changes were required and Manchester itself was surrounded by a ring of townships. What was needed was a great central authority—firm, scientific, and armed with powers of taxation and aid, co-operating with well-organized local administration and with the voluntary efforts of public-spirited citizens. But no reformer of the time could believe that any central authority which could then be established would be intelligent, fair-minded and effective. Consequently the efforts of men who might have averted some of the worst evils of the Industrial Revolution were paralysed. But their thought bore fruit at a later time. Manchester was the seed-plot of many of the most fruitful social ideas of the time, and much that helped forward the education of Manchester under its new conditions was due, directly or indirectly, to the efforts of this group of men. In 1810 Lancasterian schools were established, followed in 1812 by the efforts of the National Society. The Mechanics' Institution was founded in 1824.

The cause of public education in Manchester was carried still farther by a group of men in the generation which followed that of Dr. Percival. In this group two names are of national significance—those of Richard Cobden and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. The latter, then Dr. Kay, a native of Rochdale, who had received his medical education at Edinburgh, settled in Manchester in 1827. As senior physician at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary, he came into contact with the Irish labourers and other factory workers who lived in one of the poorest parts of Manchester. He published in 1832 a report on the moral and physical condition of the working classes of Manchester. He described what he called the "fatal demoralization of the poorer parts of the community": "The

increase of the manufacturing establishments and the consequent colonization of the district, have been exceedingly more rapid than the growth of its civic institutions. The eager antagonization of commercial enterprise has absorbed the attention and concentrated the energies of every member of the community. In this strife the remote influence of arrangements has sometimes been neglected, not from want of humanity, but from the pressure of occupation and the deficiency of time." Dr. Kay saw the need for drastic reform in house sanitation and hours of employment, but maintained that these measures must be accompanied by a general system of education. "Our present means of instruction are confined to Sunday Schools and to a few Lancasterian and National Schools, quite inadequate to the wants of the population." The efforts of enlightened employers, among whom he selects for eminently favourable mention Mr. Thomas Ashton of Hyde, showed what could be done by those who took steps to improve the housing and education of their operatives. After the publication of Dr. Kay's pamphlet, the Manchester Statistical Society was founded in 1833 and by its publications and scientific inquiries provided material upon which to base later reforms.

Richard Cobden, who had settled in Lancashire in 1828, threw his eager mind into the questions which the founders of the Manchester Statistical Society were bringing before the public. Cobden's first speeches were made at Clitheroe on behalf of education. He made arrangements for the exhibition at Sabden, where his works were situated, of twenty children from an infant school in Manchester in order that those living in the district might realize how much could be effected by educational improvements. His chief work during the earlier years of his residence in Manchester was to labour

for reform in municipal government. He was the moving spirit in the effort for the incorporation of Manchester and saw his labours crowned with success. He realized that without modern municipal government educational reform on a large scale was impossible. But, as before, the educational reformers of Manchester found themselves face to face with a conflict of social traditions. Cobden's mind moved to the left. "Schoolmasters," he wrote in 1838, "are a first step to Radicalism. I have unbounded faith in the people and would risk universal suffrage to-morrow in preference to the present franchise. But we shall never obtain even an approach towards such a change except by one of two paths—Revolution or the Schoolhouse." But a visit to Germany in the same year made him suspect that, for the great mass of people, Prussia possessed the best government in Europe. "I would gladly give up my taste for talking politics to secure such a state of things in England. Had our people such a simple and economical government, so deeply imbued with justice to all and aiming so constantly to elevate mentally and morally its population, how much better would it be for the 12 or 15 millions in the British Empire who, while they possess no electoral rights, are yet persuaded that they are free men, and who are mystified into the notion that they are not political bondmen, by that great juggle of the *English Constitution.* The government of Prussia is the mildest phase in which absolutism ever presented itself. The King, a good and just man, has, by pursuing a systematic cause of popular education, shattered the sceptre of despotism even in his own hand, and has for ever prevented his successors from gathering up the fragments." In the same tour he wrote: "It humiliates me to think of the class of people at home, who belong to the order of intelligent and educated men that I see

on the Continent, following the business of manufacturing, spinning, etc. Our countrymen, if they were possessed of a little of the *mind* of the merchants and manufacturers of Frankfort, Chemnitz, Elberfeld, etc., would become the De Medicis, and Fuggers, and De Witts of England, instead of glorying in being the toadies of a clodpole aristocracy, only less enlightened than themselves." Cobden's mind in these earlier years was wavering between the opposite ideals of parental control by a benevolent but despotic government and the winning of liberty through political agitation and a democratic franchise. He felt that education was the primary need in social reform. The impression produced by Prussia was transient. For a remedy for social troubles he turned to liberty ending in organization—an organization which might set limits to liberty. Thus he represents the left wing of the reforming group in the educational thought of Manchester during the years after the Reform Act. The typically opposing figure in the educational discussions of Manchester was the Rev. H. Stowell, Vicar of Christchurch, Salford. "Either Christianize education or crush it," he said in 1839. "I believe it were better almost for man that it were crushed than that it were given unless it were Christianized." He held that education should be kept in the closest connection with the Churches and under their control. The *via media* between these two conflicting convictions was traced by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the Dr. Kay of the Manchester Statistical Society, who, as Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, brought by his tact and patience the various denominations into co-operation with the government and prepared the way for the great compromise of 1870.

For fifteen years, 1850-1865, Manchester was the scene

of the great discussions about the fundamental principles on which English education should be organized under the superintendence of the State. The Lancashire Public School Association, 1847, and the Manchester and Salford Committee on Education, 1851—the one representing the unsectarian or secular solution, the other aiming at the continuance of superintendence of schools by the religious bodies of the country—thrashed out between them the fundamental questions which arise through the relations of the government to national education. In these discussions Dr. John Watts of Manchester played a conspicuous and influential part. The long debate between the two organizations ended in what seemed to be a deadlock, but was really the preface to the Elementary Education Act of 1870. The work of the educational reformers in Manchester between 1850 and 1865, though it seemed to be a failure, was in fact the foundation on which the new system of English public elementary education was based. The conflict of opinion in Manchester represented a national conflict. The patience and energy of Manchester organizations produced in the end assuagement of the conflict by disclosing the wide extent of common ground upon which the disputants were agreed and the necessity for aid being given to education from local rates as well as from central taxation.

These years in the middle of the nineteenth century were in other respects of crucial importance to education in Manchester and to its influence on national opinion. In 1846 John Owens died and left the bulk of his fortune for the establishment of a College in Manchester. The founder's will stated the object of the College to be "for providing or aiding the means of instructing and improving young persons

of the male sex (and being of an age not less than fourteen years) in such branches of learning and science as are usually taught in the English Universities, but subject nevertheless to the following fundamental and immutable rules and conditions, that the students, professors, teachers and others connected with the said institution shall not be required to make any declaration as to, or submit to any test of, their religious opinions, and that nothing shall be introduced in the matter or mode of education or instruction in reference to any religious or theological subject which shall be reasonably offensive to the conscience of any student, or of his relations, guardians or friends." The sum realized for the purpose of the College was over £96,000. The founder wisely decided that his endowment should be spent mainly on the provision from the first of an adequate teaching staff. The trustees rented for the College a private house in Quay Street in which Richard Cobden once lived. The house was afterwards given to the College by Mr. George Faulkner, John Owens' intimate friend, executor, and trustee. The trustees named in John Owens' will were representative men of different parties and religious faiths. With a staff of five professors and two teachers the College was opened in 1851. By the intellectual distinction of its teachers, by representing the highest sides of the communal life of Manchester, and by its wise and enlightened attitude towards University problems, Owens College, which attained University rank in 1880 as the chief constituent College of the Victoria University and became the Victoria University of Manchester in 1903, has had a profound influence in the development of University education in England and the British Commonwealth overseas.

The middle of the nineteenth century saw another great

addition to the educational resources of Manchester. In 1849, guided by the fact that there was an influential and musical German colony in Manchester, Charles Hallé, born 1819 at Hagen, settled in the City, and became conductor of the Gentlemen's Concerts. In 1857, when the Art Treasures Exhibition was held in Manchester, Hallé was placed in charge of the musical arrangements. He formed and conducted a first-rate orchestra, and the performances were so successful that he continued the concerts as a permanent institution. They have played a vitally important part in the musical life of England through the personnel of the orchestra and the programmes of the concerts. The Hallé Orchestral Concerts were conducted by Hallé uninterruptedly till his death in 1895. After a season of Guest Conductors during three years, of which Sir Frederick Cowen took command, Dr. Hans Richter became Conductor of the Hallé Orchestra in 1899. Since the autumn of 1920 Sir Hamilton Harty has been the permanent conductor of the orchestra, the players of which are devoted to the great tradition of the concerts and show deep loyalty to the interests of the Society. In the education of Manchester, music has played a great part.

The courage and patience of operatives of Lancashire during the cotton famine, which was caused by the American Civil War, 1861-1864, strengthened the interest of Lancashire in education and deepened its belief in its value. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth referred with just praise to "the intelligence shown by the workmen of Lancashire in discerning the true causes of the cotton famine ; in acquiescing without a murmur in the national policy of non-intervention in the American War ; and in many of them living for three years on one-third

of their ordinary wages without losing the spring of their native industry and independence." Much was done during the cotton famine for the education of men and women, youths and girls, who were temporarily out of employment. The independence of mind and character which is characteristic of Lancashire was deepened by the experience of the cotton famine.

A new era began in the education of Manchester with the election of the School Board under the provisions of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. It became possible to grapple with the primary educational needs of the city on a comprehensive plan and with the aid of local rates. The achievement of the Manchester School Board was famous. Among other departments of its work, it was a pioneer in its care for defective children. Not less significant was its enterprise in meeting the growing need for a new form of secondary education. The experience of the City proved that the community required a form of secondary education closely connected with the administration of the elementary schools. The higher grade schools of Manchester and the growth of similar schools in other cities forced upon the public, and ultimately upon Parliament, the need for great extension of opportunities for secondary education.

Another striking movement in English educational thought —the demand for the improved education of girls and women —expressed itself in Manchester by the establishment in 1874 of the High School for Girls. One of its original founders, Sir Edward Donner, is still in Manchester. The school is a first grade public school under a representative body of governors. It is now aided both by the State and from rates as well as receiving a small endowment from the Hulme Trust.

Its pupils number about 600, ranging in age from ten to nineteen. The general aim of the school is two-fold: first, to develop in the pupils a general capacity and vigour both practical and intellectual; and second, to provide such advanced teaching as shall fit a number of girls to proceed to the Universities. The great majority of girls take the School Certificate of the Joint Board of the Northern Universities at the age of about sixteen, and some of these go on to some of the advanced courses recognized by the Board of Education (Classics, Modern Studies, Science and Mathematics) leading to the Higher School Certificate. The school also offers for older girls special courses in secretarial subjects and in domestic science. Music, advanced work in art and handicraft have a recognized place in the curriculum. Physical culture is an important feature. Medical supervision is an integral part of the organization. Every girl is examined on entering the school and before leaving, and at least once in her school career. The school has a medical room with a nurse always on the spot. The school medical officer gives advice to the headmistress in regard to the arrangement of the curriculum, homework, diet, and the general routine of the pupils. The effects of this care are shown in the high rate of average school attendance.

During the creative years which immediately followed the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 some of the most important educational resources of the City were brought more effectively into public use. The Natural History Museum, which was the property of the Manchester Natural History Society founded in 1821, and the collections of the Manchester Geological Society founded in 1838, having been combined in 1869 under the management of a Museum

Trust, were in 1873 placed in the charge of the Council of Owens College, which holds them in trust for the benefit of the public of Manchester. The Manchester Museum, housed in a wing of the University, is managed by a Committee representing the University Council and Staff, the City Council and others. The collections have special reference to Mineralogy, Geology, Zoology, and Botany, but include Archæology, especially Egyptian Archæology, Anthropology, and Numismatics. In addition to the great service which these well-arranged collections render to scientific study and research, the Museum contributes to the general education of the City a large number of lectures and demonstrations free to the public in the course of every year.

On another side of education an important step was taken in 1882 when the collection of pictures belonging to the "Royal Manchester Institution for the promotion of literature, science, and the arts," and the building which had been erected for it in 1825 by Sir Charles Barry, were transferred by its governors to the City of Manchester with an understanding that for the next twenty years £2000 should be provided annually out of rates for the purchase of works of art. This subsidy has been continued and the Manchester City Art Gallery with its branches is the most interesting and important public collection of pictures outside London. The Whitworth Institute, founded by a generous gift from the legatees of Sir Joseph Whitworth, was incorporated in 1889, its resources being shortly afterwards increased by a contribution from the guarantors of the Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition for the purchase of works of art. Among other treasures, the Institute possesses one of the finest collections of water-colour drawings in the country. Nowhere can the work of English painters in

water-colour be more vividly realized. The Manchester Art Gallery and its branches and the Whitworth Institute actively co-operate in the educational work of the City.

The period which followed the Franco-German War and which was marked by the extension and reorganization of elementary education under Mr. Forster's Act was a time of rapid advance in Manchester education and of release from some of its older inhibitions. In 1872 the Royal Medical College, founded in 1824, was incorporated with the Owens College and quickly received large contributions for a new building and for the endowment of a Medical Chair. In 1874 the Manchester Medical Society offered their large library to the Owens College. The last thirty years of the nineteenth century saw rapid and remarkable developments in the higher education of Manchester. The Owens College, which received a University Charter in 1880 as the first constituent college of the Victoria University, was empowered by its Charter to admit women to all degrees. In 1883 the Owens College took over the College for Women which had been opened in 1877 and provided special facilities for women students at the College. The last ten years of the century brought developments which have made Manchester the greatest library centre outside London. In addition to the Municipal Public Library, founded in 1852, one of the first rate-aided libraries in England and especially rich in books on economics and local trades as well as in library economy, music, and statistics, and besides the Chetham Library to which reference has already been made, there is in Manchester a very important library in the University, housed in buildings presented by Dr. Christie in 1895. Still more important is the John Rylands Library, one of the most

famous libraries in the world, which was dedicated to the use of the public in 1899. It was built, equipped, and generously endowed by the late Mrs. Rylands as a memorial to her husband. The Library contains the Althorp Library and the Crawford manuscripts and many other treasures, which make the Library a resort of students from all parts of the world. By the facilities which it gives to readers and by its organization of lectures, the John Rylands Library is eminent among the educational institutions of the City.

In 1895 the Manchester University Settlement was inaugurated. It owes much to the far-sighted generosity of Mr. T. C. Horsfall. Its headquarters are in Ancoats Hall and its activities include a wide range of educational and social work.

Technical education began in Manchester with the establishment of the Manchester Mechanics Institution in 1824. Its building was the first erected in England for the accommodation of the various departments of its scientific work and to provide systematic instruction in chemistry and mechanics. Its chief object was to teach the scientific principles upon which industrial practice depends. Among its founders were Benjamin Heywood and William Fairbairn. Its work developed after the Elementary Education Act of 1870. In 1882 it became the Manchester Technical School and in 1892 was transferred to the care of the Corporation of Manchester, which, with the aid of a gift of land from the legatees of Sir Joseph Whitworth and of large funds assigned for the purpose out of the profits of the Exhibition of 1887, became in 1895 the building of the College of Technology. This is a college of university rank and is attended by students from all parts of the world.

With the turn of the century came memorable changes

in the national organization of education in England. The Education Act of 1902 transferred the work of the School Board to the Municipal Authority and empowered the latter to deal comprehensively with the whole problem of education in the interests of the community. Towards this great change Manchester made its important contribution. Many of the developments of education in Manchester during the last ten years of the nineteenth century pointed towards the consolidation of the administrative responsibility in the hands of the municipal body. At Manchester, therefore, the transition from the old order of things to the new was less noticeable than in many places which had been previously more backward than Manchester in the provision of educational opportunities.

The last quarter of a century, despite the interruption caused by the War, has been a time of great consolidation in the education of Manchester and of the extension of educational opportunity. An excellent account of the work of the Manchester Education Committee is given in the "General Survey 1914-1924," published by the Committee in 1926. This book shows the immense range of the activities of the City Council through its Education Committee : its provision of nursery classes, the organization of school medical service, the provision of special schools for crippled, physically defective, mentally defective, blind and backward children, the services of its school attendance officers, its regulation of employment of children, its co-operation with the juvenile court, its organization of evening play centres and of children's camps, its encouragement of music in the schools, its scheme for courses of instruction at museums and art galleries ; the facilities which it gives for the training of teachers ; the work

of its juvenile employment bureaux ; the reorganization of its central schools and their relation to secondary schools ; the great increase in facilities for secondary education ; the provision of full-time technical courses for seniors and juniors and for unemployed adolescents ; the experiments in the establishment of works day continuation schools ; the organization of voluntary day continuation schools and the co-ordination of the work of evening schools. The administration of education by the Manchester Education Committee and the many-sided variety of its work are of outstanding importance in the present stage of the growth of English education.

By a generous provision of scholarships and maintenance allowances, the Education Committee enable a very large number of children and young people to avail themselves of secondary, higher, technological and professional training. Noticeable among the developments of the last twenty years has been the encouragement of facilities for adult education. In this work the Manchester Education Committee, the University and the other great public educational institutions of the City, and a large number of independent associations co-operate. "A Survey of the Facilities for Adult Education available in Manchester," compiled by the Manchester Education Committee 1928-1929, gives a striking picture of the educational activities of the City and of the opportunities offered to every type of adult student.

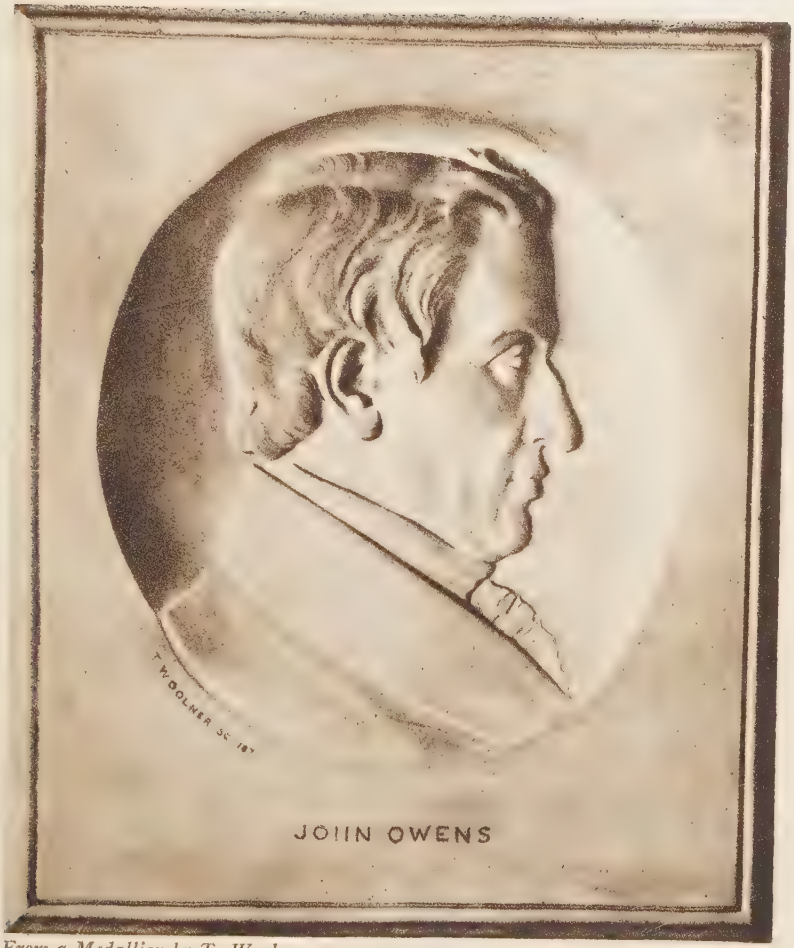
All over the country official and voluntary efforts are being woven together into a more coherent system of national education. Manchester has taken its full share in this movement of co-operation and reciprocal influence. The educational policy foreshadowed by the results of long discussions which took place in Manchester between 1850 and 1865 is being realized.

Not by a monopoly of unified control, but by the friendly association of municipal and voluntary undertaking, we are attaining a greater unity in English national education. The encouragement of this policy has been the most significant contribution which Manchester has made to English educational practice. By their energy, steadfastness, and administrative ability, the citizens of Manchester have built up a great fabric of education which serves pupils of every age and endeavours to meet every need. Through its University and the Municipal College of Technology, which since 1905 has been organically connected with the University of Manchester by the establishment of a Faculty of Technology, and through its great libraries, through its music, through its art galleries, and through the work of its great secondary schools, which are more and more closely associated with the elementary schools of the district, Manchester renders a capital service, not only to its own citizens and to the adjacent districts, but to the whole nation.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

A GENERATION or so ago, universities were considered more appropriately situated in small and quiet towns than in large and busy cities. Nowadays the latter are justly proud of possessing flourishing universities, while on the other hand Oxford and Cambridge are gradually becoming industrialized. Manchester can claim to have led the way in the establishment of the newer universities.

That there had long existed in Manchester a love of learning and a spirit of enquiry may be gathered from the fact that as early as 1640 a petition, drawn up at a public meeting in Manchester, was presented to Parliament begging for the establishment of a Northern University in the town. But the project came to nought owing to the jealousy of the City of York, a Northern University being established in Durham. More than a hundred years later, in 1783, a "College of Arts and Sciences" was founded with the aid of the "Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society," and this was followed shortly afterwards by the founding of the Manchester Academy, the staff of which John Dalton, the eminent chemist, joined in 1786. The College of Arts and Science had only a very short existence, and the Manchester Academy left for York in 1803. It was not until 1851 that the Owens College, the precursor of the University of Manchester, was actually founded. In 1846 John Owens bequeathed at his death a



From a Medallion by T. Woolner

JOHN OWENS

The house in Quay Street soon proved inadequate and plans were made for the removal of the College to a more extensive site, for which purpose an appeal was launched and by 1868 £100,000 was obtained. With it the major portion of the present site was purchased, and in 1873 the main block of buildings (designed by Mr. Alfred Waterhouse) and the chemical laboratories were opened. While this new development was taking place, the College applied for a Royal Charter. This was obtained in 1872. In these early days the students were prepared for the degrees of the University of London, but in 1875 Principal Greenwood and Professors Roscoe, Ward, and Morgan issued a pamphlet advocating the transformation of the College into an independent university with the power of granting its own degrees. With the support of the Manchester Corporation and local institutions throughout the county, a memorial for a University Charter was presented to the Privy Council, but met with opposition from the Yorkshire College, Leeds. In the end, however, the application was modified and the Victoria University was established in 1880 with its seat in Manchester, but with the obligation to admit into its body in addition to the Owens College, colleges in other towns if they were of sufficiently high rank. In this manner the Yorkshire College, Leeds, and later University College, Liverpool, became associated with the Owens College in a federal university. Though the three colleges worked harmoniously, it was found in the end that the disadvantages of the federal system far outweighed the advantages.

The intercourse of the members of staffs of the three colleges necessitated by the periodic meetings in Manchester, and the interchange of views on educational and other matters, were

From a painting by T. C. Dugdale

THE UNIVERSITY

distinctly useful in the early days of these colleges. The professors, who had to travel over from Leeds and Liverpool to Manchester, however, deplored the loss of time which it involved, while the teachers of all three institutions felt themselves cramped by syllabuses and regulations which of necessity did not express their individual views, but only the greatest common measure of agreement. The freedom from constraint "*Lehrfreiheit*," as the Germans call it, a matter so important to and so characteristic of universities did not exist. The analogy with the older universities in which numerous colleges are included in the university, was not really sound, for in Oxford and Cambridge the colleges are actually residential corporations, and not teaching institutions as the Owens College and its sister colleges were. When, therefore, in 1900 an independent university was established in Birmingham, University College, Liverpool, with much stronger claims to be regarded as of university rank than Mason College, applied for a degree-conferring charter. Owens College, by far the most important of the provincial colleges, felt that it must no longer be used to nurse up colleges to university status, and its claims to become an independent university were readily recognized. Thus in 1903, the Victoria University of Manchester was established, the title being inherited by the new university together with the graduates of the federal institution. Thus a legal continuity of the two universities was established, and the somewhat cumbrous title was handed down, often unintelligible to the uninitiated, but having its parallel in many German universities, which in formal documents append the title of the ruling prince in whose reign they were founded.

The new charter provided for the election of the Chancellor of the University by Convocation (the body of graduates) and

it has been singularly fortunate in obtaining for this supreme position persons of rare distinction in public life and in letters. After the death of the first Chancellor, the seventh Duke of Devonshire, who only held this position for one year, Lord Morley of Blackburn, of whom all Lancashire is justly proud as one of her most distinguished sons, was elected to the Chancellorship. He retained it all through the difficult years of the Great War, and until his death in 1923. The University was equally fortunate in obtaining as its present Chancellor the Right Honourable the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. No one is more fitted by his literary gifts, his love of the arts and his enthusiasm for the diffusion of culture to be the head of a great and growing University. Nor does he spare himself to promote its well-being and is ever ready to preside at its functions and to advocate its claims in the county to which he and the University belong.

The University is no less indebted to the late Master of Peterhouse, Sir Adolphus W. Ward, who was the Principal of the Owens College from 1889 to 1897 and Vice-Chancellor of the federal Victoria University ; for he can in a very real sense be regarded as the father of the University. No one loved Owens College better, and by the stimulus of his teaching, by his distinction as a historian and by his administrative ability, he helped to raise the status of the College to such eminence that the refusal to grant a degree-conferring charter became impossible. His well-deserved but much regretted promotion or perhaps retirement to the less arduous position of Master of Peterhouse, did not lessen his interest in the University he had helped to found, and he had many opportunities of assisting it with wise counsel.

His successor Principal Hopkinson (now Sir Alfred

Hopkinson) did yeoman service in the drafting of the new charter, and after this had been granted in 1903, he became its first Vice-Chancellor. As an old student of Owens College and its Professor of Law from 1875 to 1890, no one could more fittingly have filled the post of Vice-Chancellor. His intimate knowledge of the institution as a pupil and a teacher and his personal connections with the City of Manchester, enabled him in a very real way to help forward the continuous development of the University.

Sir Henry Miers's successful tenure of the office of Vice-Chancellor from 1915 to 1926 was marked, not only by the efficiency with which he filled the post, but also by the esteem and affection which he inspired in all members of the University. He has left a permanent mark on the University too, by the establishment of the Department of Crystallography. A Chair in this subject was specially founded for him, and he devoted many of his very limited spare hours to the training of students in this branch of scientific work, in which he is a recognized authority.

Dr. Moberly, the present Vice-Chancellor, is a comparatively recent addition to the strength of the University, but one may augur from the tact and wisdom with which he has guided its onward movements that he, too, will make a valuable contribution towards the continued development of the University.

The Court of Governors is a large and representative body including among its ex-officio members, the Lord Mayor of Manchester and the Chairman of the Lancashire County Council, in addition to representatives appointed by several County and Borough Councils of the area from which students are drawn to the University. It is very gratifying

that in recent years, the local education authorities have recognized more and more their indebtedness to the University for the academic instruction enjoyed by their pupils. Many of them are now making financial contributions, whilst others have substantially increased their previous grants to the University. The fees paid by the students by no means cover the cost of their academic training, and were it not for large endowments received in the past from benefactors, and a substantial grant received from the Treasury, it would be impossible to provide the necessary educational facilities. After the War, indeed, the University had to make a public appeal for further financial assistance, and though a considerable sum of money was raised, the appeal was cut short by the adverse conditions of trade, which followed the Great War. The University is still unable to undertake many much needed extensions for the erection of which a considerable capital sum is required.

The existing buildings on the Oxford Road site represent extensive additions to the original Owens College, the name of which they still preserve. The older building at the back of the quadrangle is hidden from Oxford Road by the large Museum block and by the Whitworth Hall, erected with funds allocated to the University by the legatees of the late Sir Joseph Whitworth. This fine hall, opened in 1902 on the occasion of the Jubilee of the College by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (the present King), is used for public ceremonies, and contains many interesting portraits such as those of the late Chancellor, Lord Morley, of Principal Ward, and of many former Professors of the Owens College. Its beauty is greatly enhanced by a valuable organ presented by the late Mrs. Rylands.

Between the Whitworth Hall and the old building stands

the Christie Library, erected by the munificence of Dr. Richard Copley Christie (formerly Professor of History in the Owens College), who also left his valuable private collection of books to the University. The library, by far the largest possessed by any of the newer universities, contains nearly a quarter of a million volumes and includes some excellent private libraries obtained by bequest or presentation, such as those of Dr. Freeman, Dr. Angus Smith, Professor Marshall, and Professor Adamson. The library of the late Dr. Schunck is housed in the Schunck laboratory in the Chemical Department. Research students and teachers of the University have the advantage of the presence in Manchester of two other important libraries, the Rylands Library and the library of the Literary and Philosophical Society, which provide for the further needs of Arts and Science respectively. Library facilities, therefore, so essential for the advancement of learning and research are well provided for in or near the University.

The site on Oxford Road, which in 1870 seemed sufficient for any future needs of Owens College, has long ceased to be adequate, and further land has had to be acquired in adjoining streets for additional buildings. In Coupland Street new buildings have been erected to house the departments of Physics and Engineering ; in Burlington Street the Students' Union, the Refectory, and the Gymnasium have been built, whilst the greater part of Lime Grove is now University property. In this comparatively quiet and semi-private street the new and handsome Arts Building designed by Dr. Percy Worthington was opened in 1919. Its spacious entrance hall contains Epstein's excellent bust of Professor Alexander, presented to the University by his friends and colleagues, as a testimony of their appreciation of his long and distinguished service.

Though so recently opened the Arts Building is far from adequate for housing the still growing Faculty of Arts, and several private houses in Lime Grove have been requisitioned to accommodate some of the departments.

Already before the transformation of the Owens College into the University of Manchester, the Manchester Medical School had been taken over, and now there are some 600 students in the Faculty of Medicine. Large and extensive laboratories for Physiology, Anatomy, and Pharmacology are available, while further provision for the practical instruction in Pathology and Bacteriology has recently been made nearer the Royal Infirmary. The removal of this institution from Piccadilly to a site presented to it by the University, and comparatively near to it, has thus brought almost to its doors one of the largest and best equipped of modern hospitals with an unrivalled supply of clinical material for medical instruction. There is also housed in the University an important medical library, the joint property of the Manchester Medical Society and the Faculty of Medicine, which contains 55,000 volumes and which receives the more prominent medical journals and the transactions of medical societies. A Public Health Department associated with the Bacteriological Laboratories performs important and useful service by examining and reporting upon many thousands of specimens requiring bacteriological examination, and which are sent in by doctors and public health authorities in and around Manchester.

Since the establishment of an independent University, Faculties of Law, Music, Commerce and Administration, Theology, Technology, and Education have been gradually added.

Though some of the newer Faculties are concerned in

giving students a definitely professional training, to become doctors, teachers, lawyers, technicians or business men, the University has never lost sight of the importance of developing learning and pure science with which the Owens College commenced its career.

The Department of Classics has not only increased in number as regards both students and staff, but it has contributed largely to the advancement of learning by the activities of its professors and lecturers.

The School of History has gained a deservedly high position and has attracted many research students from other universities. This is due in large measure to the indefatigable exertions of Professor T. F. Tout, who for thirty-five years was the active head of the Department of History. By his own researches as well as those of his students, he built up one of the strongest departments of the University and one of which the University is justly proud. Professor Tout was also responsible for the establishment of the University Press, which by its publications has helped to establish the reputation of the University as a seat of learning.

It is interesting to note that Philosophy, one of the most abstract of studies, has always flourished in the University of Manchester. This is no doubt due to the eminence of the professors of this subject, but probably also to their very engaging personalities. The Samuel Hall orations given in past years by Professor Alexander have always attracted large and appreciative audiences ; and the interest he has awakened in philosophical subjects continues under his successor.

Modern languages have also been largely developed, and in addition to professorships in French and German, Chairs in Italian and Russian have also been established.

Included in the Faculty of Arts is a very flourishing School of Architecture, which has attracted many students, not a few of whom have obtained many distinctions, including the much coveted *Prix de Rome*. Travelling scholarships, established by the Manchester Institute of Builders and by private munificence, give the students facilities for studying the best examples of architecture in Britain and on the Continent.

The Department of Geography, associated at first with the Faculty of Arts, but now included also in the Faculty of Science, has of late years seen considerable development, as should be the case in a city of such wide commercial ramifications as Manchester. It has received a very valuable gift in the form of an extensive collection of maps, but it still lacks the endowment necessary to establish a Chair in Geography.

In the Faculty of Science the Department of Chemistry has undoubtedly, by its historical development under Frankland, Roscoe, and Schorlemmer, occupied the most important place. It is the subject of a separate chapter in this volume.

Although not as large as the Chemical School, the Physics Department has a splendid record, and both under the former head, Sir Ernest Rutherford, and under the present professor, has attracted large numbers of eminent researchers from abroad.

The Department of Engineering owes its inception to two legacies of considerable amounts bequeathed by Mr. Charles Clifton and of Mr. C. F. Beyer of the firm of Beyer and Peacock. These were used for the endownment of the Professorship of Engineering, held in the first instance by Osborne Reynolds, a man of remarkable distinction. The more recently established Chairs in Electrical Engineering and Metallurgy have been called into existence by the demand for special training in these applied sciences.

The biological sciences, instruction in which was given in the first instance by Professor Williamson, became subdivided when Owens College took over on trust in 1872 the collections of the Manchester Natural History Society. Sir William Boyd Dawkins was appointed curator of the Museum, and subsequently Professor of Geology. The Natural History Museum which was opened in 1888 owes its successful organization to its first curator, and has been invaluable as an adjunct to the teaching in the departments of Botany, Geology, and Zoology. Of late it has been considerably extended in scope ; and the large benefactions of the late Dr. Jesse Haworth and Dr. Charles Heape have enriched it by valuable Egyptological and Ethnological collections. Organized primarily for teaching purposes, the Museum is not only used by University students, but of late years, large numbers of pupils from the elementary schools are brought daily to visit the collections and receive instruction from teachers specially appointed for this purpose by the Education Committee of the City. In addition, the Museum is open daily to the public, and numerous popular lectures and demonstrations are given throughout the session. The Museum thus amply justifies the grant it receives from the civic authorities.

The Biological Departments, in addition to their laboratory equipment, have also the use of experimental grounds and greenhouses in Fallowfield. Two of these greenhouses are devoted to the cultivation of cotton plants, upon which researches are carried out in connection with various diseases caused by insect and fungal pests, the University receiving a grant from the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation for this purpose. The Board of Agriculture, too, has made grants to the University for maintaining Agricultural Advisers in

Entomology, Mycology, Agricultural Chemistry and Economics, and some of the investigations of these advisers are carried out at the experimental grounds.

Of the newer Faculties, that of Commerce and Administration has of late years shown remarkable development. Established in 1904, it grew at first slowly, but since the War with greater rapidity, and this year, when it is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, it comprises some four hundred students, showing clear evidence of the appreciation by the business community of the value of a university training.

The Faculty of Education, which has grown out of the earlier Day Training Department, is concerned with theoretical and practical training for the teaching profession. The courses of instruction for the Teachers' Diploma of the University are given to graduates in Arts and Science, who spend a fourth year at the University preparing themselves for the career of teachers in elementary or secondary schools. In addition, the Faculty has established a Master's Degree in Education which is granted to graduate teachers who have carried out special investigations on some subject connected with their profession, and presented the results of such investigation in form of a suitable thesis.

Much discussion preceded the establishment of the Faculty of Theology, since the founder of the Owens College had insisted upon the condition that neither students nor teachers should be required to make any declaration of their religious opinions. The courses of instruction in this Faculty are, therefore, all of an undenominational character, but the advanced training given at the University in the subjects preparatory to the degrees in Divinity is welcomed by the various denominational theological colleges in the

Manchester district, and their representatives collaborate most harmoniously in the Faculty of Theology.

In addition to the degrees granted by the University certain post-graduate diplomas are awarded such as the Teachers' Diploma mentioned above. The most recently established is the Diploma in Social Study, which is awarded to graduates and others preparing for posts in various kinds of welfare work. In connection with the training for this diploma much assistance is given by the University Settlement. Situated in Ancoats, one of the poorest quarters of the City, it has for many years done valuable educational and social work, and has enlisted the help and sympathy of many members of the teaching staff, and many of the students of the University. For the latter it has always presented a valuable opportunity for enlisting and developing their social instincts, and they have on the whole not been remiss in giving their services to this much needed institution. Under its present Warden, and with the help of a substantial bequest from the late Miss Bickham, the University Settlement has during the last few years undergone considerable development and expansion.

In other ways, too, the University has sought to cater for the educational needs of those who cannot, like the ordinary students, enter its walls. It maintains a flourishing Extra-mural Department, which arranges for single lectures or definite courses in various parts of the Manchester area ; and it is particularly active in supplying the constantly increasing demand for tutorial classes made by the Workers' Educational Association. These latter courses are generally of three years' duration, and a very high standard of work is maintained in them. During the present session some fifty-five classes have

been conducted, over one thousand working men and women being in attendance. A Summer School for selected members of these classes is held yearly at Bangor, and is usually well attended.

In the early days of Owens College, its students were drawn either from Manchester or from the immediate surroundings. But when the reputation of the College became more widely established, and students were attracted from some distance to study in Manchester, the number of students living in lodgings increased sufficiently to warrant the establishment of Halls of Residence. In 1876, the Society of Friends established Dalton Hall which was followed ten years later by the opening of Hulme Hall.

Ashburne House in Victoria Park was opened for the residence of women students in 1899. This soon proved too small, and the removal to the Behrens Estate in Fallowfield has seen a wonderful expansion. In addition seven other smaller Halls of Residence for men and women students respectively, have been licensed by the University. The social side of the student's life is, however, not only catered for in these Halls, but the Students' Union at the University provides accommodation for the meetings of the various students' societies. The athletic grounds at Fallowfield, ten acres in extent, with a well-appointed pavilion, ensure the physical development of the students; and the various athletic clubs hold good records of proficiency.

This short account of the development of the University and of the position to which it has now attained will suffice to show that it has enjoyed a vigorous youth, and if it is proud of its past history and of the achievements of its youthful days, it looks forward with equal confidence to further success and usefulness in the years to come.

TECHNOLOGY IN MANCHESTER.

If Lord Crawford would indeed climb his Mancunian chimney-stalk he would doubtless see through the haze of smoke what he has so well perceived through the eye of faith (p. 28). But would he not see, too, that not insignificant building in which the Society of Chemical Industry has elected to meet,—the Municipal College of Technology, the Soul of Manchester?—not to be arrogant, one of the souls of Manchester. For Manchester is polypsychic, a word technologically uncommon but not out of keeping with current chemical nomenclature. But why this talk of souls? Are there not even now in twentieth-century Cottonopolis the vestigial remains of those to whom Technology and the Soul are incompatibles? There are. But let it pass; for "the old order changeth."

Manchester, then, may conjure up before the mind's eye a variety of visions. From his mental chimney-pot one man may see cotton, cotton everywhere; another will be deaf to all sounds but that of the Hallé orchestra; another will be blind to all but the green turf of Old Trafford: and yet another merely wonders, perhaps, what England will be thinking to-morrow. But to all, the vision of a great industrial area, the greatest in the world, would unfold itself, with Manchester the *de facto* centre if not the geometrical middle. Cotton, coal, engineering and chemical industry in all its

manifold variety : these make up the life of South-East Lancashire, providing millions with the reason and the means of existence and giving to the district an importance in national and international affairs out of all proportion to its geographical area.

Industries may take root in a haphazard way and may develop and prosper by the light of nature and by the native genius of its devotees. But modern competition, modern methods, modern science have brought home, and are daily stressing, the fact that modern industry demands for success something more than natural advantages, something more than natural aptitude, something more than native grit and mother wit. It requires of all ranks of the industrial battalions that they shall be armed at all points, equipped for their special duties to the limit of their capabilities. Directors, managers, foremen, overlookers, operatives must all be masters of their special craft, highly trained for their special positions. For some a trained intellect, for some a manual skill, is of first importance : for all a scientific outlook according to their capacities, a broad-based appreciation of principles, processes, and possibilities. And so Technology, which means these things, is the Soul of Manchester—one of the souls. And its chief local habitation is the Municipal College, which has occupied its present corporeal envelope since 1902, but goes back in history to the old Manchester Mechanics Institute. This was founded in 1824, amongst the first of such institutions in the country, and the first to be housed in a building specially planned for the purpose. Benjamin Heywood, when opening this Institute in 1827 made the statement, by no means platitudinous in those days and not always recognized as such in these, "that there is no art which does not depend

From a drawing by Hedley Fitton

THE MUNICIPAL COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY, PRESENT BUILDING

more or less on scientific principles, and to teach what these are, and to point out their practical applications, will form the chief object of this Institution." Through the century which has passed that has remained the object. The old Mechanics Institute, the Technical School which succeeded it, and the College of Technology as it now is, have remained one in spirit even though the body has changed and grown out of all outward resemblance. For the developments which have taken place must be far beyond the vision of those early pioneers of technical education, far-seeing though they were : even of those "eleven prominent Manchester men who each lent £634 15s. for the purpose of purchasing the land and erecting the building." Little can they have thought that their somewhat unpretentious Institution, to which it was not easy to persuade the artisan class, men and boys, to come in very considerable numbers, would develop into a College of some 6500 students, with a Teaching Staff of 350, a world-wide reputation and an annual expenditure of some £120,000.

The industries of Manchester and district are Textile, Engineering, Chemical, Building, and Printing with its allied trades. It is these the College sets out to serve by imparting the scientific principles on which they are, or should be, based and the practical applications of these principles. Such an attempt could not hope to succeed on a basis of a well-equipped College and a highly-qualified teaching staff alone. These are vital : but of equal importance is the goodwill and the active co-operation of industry itself. These the College is singularly fortunate in possessing in an abundant degree. Lancashire is not indifferent to its soul : certainly not to that portion of its soul which makes for intelligent efficiency in its most vital work. Many important leaders of industry give

generously of their time and of their experience on the various committees which conduct the affairs and departments of the College ; many firms contribute by valuable gifts and loans to the elaborate equipment which modern technological training demands ; and industry has contributed £100,000 towards that extension of the College premises which is so urgently needed. Perhaps of almost greater value is the co-operation afforded by employers in the encouragement of their apprentices, staff, and workmen to attend the College courses. Many employers pay the College fees of their employees ; many make promotion depend upon successful work at the College, and the College provides for employers periodical reports on many hundreds of students.

But when all is said and done it is the students themselves, what they are and what they do hereafter, who are the final arbiters of the success and destiny of a college. And they come in their thousands from Manchester and its immediate neighbourhood, in hundreds from farther afield in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, and in twos and threes from the rest of England and most of the countries of the world. For those aspiring to high technical or managerial positions there are the degree courses of the Faculty of Technology of the University, leading to the degree of B.Sc.Tech. This needs a minimum of three years' full-time post-matriculation study, the first year being devoted almost exclusively to the fundamentals of Mathematics, Mechanics, Physics, and Chemistry. Thereafter, while acquiring a broad training in the principles of his industry, the student may begin to specialize in any desired branch of it : spinning or weaving or design or textile engineering, if cotton is his objective : mechanical, electrical or municipal and sanitary engineering if

an engineer ; mining if he places his trust in the future of coal : in textile chemistry, paper, metallurgy, electro-chemistry, brewing, dyes, foodstuffs or fuel if some branch of industrial chemistry is his bent. And for the graduate, and for others suitably qualified, ample opportunities are afforded for the prosecution of research. By a wise and generous provision of ten £100 research scholarships annually the Manchester Education Committee has enabled many excellent students, who would otherwise have been unable to do so, to remain on for a year's research work, to the great benefit of themselves, the College, and the industry. The prosecution of original investigation is indeed regarded as of fundamental importance for the success of the College. Inspiring teaching is only possible in an atmosphere of research, and if the younger generation entering industry is to do something more than merely fill efficiently some niche in the general system, it must go there with some originality of outlook, some experience of how first to visualize a problem and then to solve it. Original investigation, under proper supervision is the best means of acquiring this experience and of developing this originality. The record of original publications by staff and students in all departments is one in which the College takes justifiable pride ; and it is specially indebted to numerous firms and associations which have from time to time subsidized or in other ways assisted the prosecution of research in the College. For a college which contents itself with merely disseminating knowledge without adding materially to the world's stock of that commodity would be a poor thing, not worthy, indeed, to be called a soul.

It is not every student who can afford the time or the fees for a full-time university course of training. The University

students number some 300: but there are numerous other facilities for day training. One of the most successful and valuable features of the College is the scheme of part-time day-training for apprentices, first, it is believed, started in Manchester some twenty-six years ago, and since adopted in many other places. These courses are for young men already employed in industry, who are allowed by their employers to attend the College for one day a week throughout the session. The employer usually pays the student full wages and often his fees as well. Entrance to these courses is naturally a coveted privilege and the standard of admission and achievement can be maintained at a high level. Students unquestionably find it easier to do good work during the day, rather than in the evening when tired after the day's labour. The policy is to develop these part-time day courses accordingly.

Nevertheless, the great bulk of the students come to the College for evening study. This is a marked and probably permanent feature of the English system of technical education. And it has produced undoubtedly excellent results. Certain obvious disadvantages it has, but in one respect at least the training it affords is not bettered by that of the day student. A young man who, after a day's work in the shops, has the wisdom, the enthusiasm and the grit to attend evening classes for three nights a week, doing home-work on the other nights, and to keep it up for three, five, and even seven years, as many do, has the right stuff in him. And it speaks volumes for the character of the youth of Manchester and the surrounding neighbourhood that year after year between 5000 and 6000 evening students fill, and much more than fill, the class-rooms and laboratories of the College. And the same thing is going

on, in somewhat smaller numbers, perhaps, at the nine Branch Technical Schools in Manchester and the numerous local Technical Schools in the other cities and towns of the district. It is a very fine thing : and it is not difficult to arrive at some appreciation of the benefit accruing to industry from it. And anyone who cares to stand at the entrance of the College any evening during the session from 6.30 to 7 o'clock and to watch the ceaseless influx of students, would appreciate the fitness of referring to the College of Technology as the Soul of Manchester—one of the souls.

For Lancashire without its great industries would be just an ordinary commonplace county : and its industries without a well-trained personnel could not for long survive. The struggle is stern enough as things are : and a successful issue can only emerge upon an ever-increasing and an ever-broadening basis of scientific knowledge, of scientific principles, and of scientific application of these principles. To achieve this the recruits to industry in every grade must have according to their capacities an outlook and a training which, while enabling them "to hold fast to that which is good," will give them the courage to discard the bad and the obsolete, to tread new and untrodden paths, and the vision to see the possibilities of to-morrow beyond the actualities of to-day. The past romance of industry has often been told : it has a future no less full of romance. But the industrial Sir Galahad will need a complete suit of the armour of science as well as a full equipment of the heroic virtues, if he does not desire to figure as an industrial Don Quixote tilting at windmills. And as one of the more important pieces of his armour he must carry with him, besides his scientific knowledge and technical skill, an under. standing of the human problems of industry : those economic

and personal problems which are for ever springing up like dragons barring the path of progress. Good lusty, fire-breathing dragons, worthy the lance of any knight: but more elusive than the dragon of old, more subtle and more unexpected: needing a delicate technique as well as an iron nerve for his overthrowing. So, some ten years ago a Department of Industrial Administration was founded in the College for the study of the human and economic aspects of industry. Some dozen leading industrial firms fathered and financed the venture for eight years until it had proved its worth. It was then taken over by the Education Committee and has become a permanent and not the least valuable feature of the College work. Every undergraduate of the College, and many other day and evening students, receive in the department some instruction as to the economic and personal problems which he will have to face, some training in the broad principles by which the varied solutions of these problems have been or may be achieved. Actual experience in dealing with them can, of course, only be obtained through practical contact, and a successful industrial administrator can only be evolved in the work-a-day life of industry itself. But many errors and many difficulties can be avoided if a man starts with a knowledge of what problems are to be expected, with a lighted lamp to enable him to avoid the pitfalls. There is every sign that the department will be as valuable to industry in the future as the more technical departments have been in the past.

The great need of the College at the moment is for a much increased accommodation. Large numbers and crowded classes are no doubt one sign of success: but they bring their own problems with them. It is almost a moral impossibility to refuse admission to qualified applicants, to deny nurture to the

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PROPOSED EXTENSION, THE MUNICIPAL COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY

soul of industry. But a time comes when teaching and learning must suffer by too great a pressure upon the available space. That time has come. And further, the equipment of the College and the general provision for technical training, which a quarter of a century ago was without equal in this country and with few superiors in any other, is now being seriously challenged at home and far surpassed abroad. It is, therefore, a matter for great satisfaction that the Education Committee have decided to proceed in the near future with a large extension scheme, which will once more put Manchester well in the forefront of technological training. The plans have been adopted and the new building with the old will form a noble habitation for the Soul of Manchester—without reservation.

A FAMOUS MANCHESTER SCHOOL (FOUNDED 1515).

THE history of Rugby School may be written without the children of Rugby and Brownsover, for whom the school was founded, being mentioned after the close of the first chapter. It is a non-local school.

The history of Manchester Grammar School is wholly different. Not that it is local in the parochial sense – confined to Manchester, its immediate environment—for just as the narrow winding streets of our city, if you follow them up, lead to the farthest places of the inhabited world, so the pupils of the Grammar School find their way into every branch of activity in Church and State. They go out to become the Bishops, Judges, Teachers, Editors, Engineers, Railway Organizers, Doctors, Lawyers, Farmers and Fruit Growers, Legislators, and Civil Servants, Sailors and Pioneers, to the utmost circumference of the earth. A glance round the school museum, a study of the old Mancunian records would show how true this statement is. But yet it is a local school in so far that the boys are drawn from Manchester and the accessible vicinity. There has been no official boarding-house since the beginning of the nineteenth century. And, standing in the very midst of its busy commercial and industrial activities, Manchester Grammar School has trained Manchester and Salford boys in their native environment.

It is this fact which puts in a class by itself the history of the school, written by the School Medical Officer, Dr. A. A. Mumford. He has told the story of the school, not as a thing apart, living and developing its own life, but as an organism which acts and reacts upon its environment, takes in, transmutes and puts forth again in terms of life and energy, the nutriment afforded by its immediate environment,—and has been doing this for over four hundred years. Dr. Mumford's history is a study in educational ecology.

"My desire," he tells us in his preface, "is to approach the story of the school, not so much from the point of view of the historian, critically studying past records, as from that of a naturalist, who, in order to understand the conditions of growth of a living organism, desires to know something of the soil which surrounds its roots, or the circumstances of its early development, as well as the atmosphere which it breathes and the source whence it derives its stimulation."

As such the school has been a great experiment in the democratization of the higher learning. It has ignored all barriers of caste or birth or wealth. It has offered free education and generous financial assistance to boys of all classes who have shown they had the capacity and the will-power to raise themselves in the scale of being. And it has done this without ignoring or discouraging those of its pupils who are less richly endowed with talent. It would not have been true to its democratic character if it had done otherwise. It has provided the ladder for talent, it is true, but it has also provided the broad highway to fuller knowledge and growth for the average boy (if such a person can be said to exist, for there does not exist the boy who has not some distinctive gift of his own).

It would be easy to multiply actual instances of boys from the humblest homes who have risen to positions of high eminence and wide-spreading usefulness. But to particularize might hurt the susceptibilities, I will not say of the boys themselves, but of their ladies. "I fear the Trojan dames with flowing robes" as Cicero used to say, though the particular epithet does not apply to-day. Suffice it to say that I have seen sitting side by side in a form which was beginning Greek, the son of a Professor, of a Policeman, and of a Director of one of our great railways. Professor Harold Laski, who knows Canada and the United States of America and is, I suppose, a first authority on Political Science, says he knows no institution in our time so democratic as Manchester Grammar School, and he knows it not as an outsider but as a scholar.

Francis Bacon insisted higher learning to be a class privilege for the well-to-do. He held that it should not be thrown open to any other save those who showed signs of exceptional ability and who promised to do brilliantly in after-life. But Bacon failed to see that even for this limited purpose you must have the broader base to your educational system. If education is to reach high it must have this broad sweep in its foundations. Your Eiffel Tower with its narrow base may reach near 1000 feet, but with the broad base of Mont Blanc you reach 16,000.

The policy of Manchester Grammar School has been the direct opposite of the policy which Bacon recommended to King James. In accordance with this policy it was the first of the large endowed grammar schools to come under the new system shaped out by the Board of Education under the Balfour Act. It united itself thereby to the National Scheme,

controlled by Whitehall, and at the same time to the new local Education Communities of Manchester, Salford, Lancashire, and Cheshire. Above all it placed itself in living touch with the great system of elementary schools which had grown up under the Act of 1871. There are all the time some four hundred boys drawn from these schools who have free places at the Grammar School ; many have maintenance bursaries in addition to free education.

The school is at the same time in closest affiliation with the Manchester College of Technology and University. Practically all its science scholars and medicals find their university training in these modern institutions. At the same time she has not in any way lost touch with the older foundations of Oxford and Cambridge. She sends forward some fifteen entrance scholars to them every year.

She may in fact be said to hold a mediatory position. She links up the new learning with the old, " the fairy tales of science " with the long results of time. She mediates between industry and academic studies ; in co-operation between those two lies the hope of progress. She mediates between the commercial world and the professions. She mediates between the new and the old, turning the hearts of the children to the fathers and the hearts of the fathers to the children. For she is rooted in the traditions of a distant past and weaves all that is best and most vital in them into the progressive life of the future. Visitors will find her nestling between Victoria Railway Station and the Cathedral in Long Millgate. In three years' time she will have migrated to the spacious greenness of Fallowfield.

CHEMISTRY AND MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.

THE visitor to Manchester who enters its Town Hall will readily be persuaded that the City appreciates the value of research in pure science since he will there observe the statues of John Dalton and of James Prescott Joule.

At the beginning of the present century Sir Henry Roscoe wrote that the fame of Manchester as a home of research in physical science would outlast its fame as an industrial centre, his words implying no disparagement of Manchester's commercial position but rather proclaiming the fundamental and lasting importance of the work of its citizens Dalton and Joule.

To the eye of the present-day observer Roscoe appears to stand in the middle age of Manchester's chemical history. Before him came Dalton, the Henrys, Crace Calvert, Angus Smith, Schunck, and Frankland, and after him Guthrie, Dittmar, Schorlemmer, Dixon, Perkin, and the modern schools. He himself claimed for Dalton not only the earliest but also the highest place in the line, and said, "when Dalton showed that chemical combination takes place in definite and multiple proportions by weight and explained this by his Atomic Theory, the fundamental principles of chemical science were for ever determined."

The accuracy of Roscoe's judgment remains unimpaired though his view might have wavered momentarily had he known that a few years later the Nobel prize for chemistry

would be awarded to Rutherford for the discovery of the disintegration of the atom, a discovery to be announced in the very house in George Street, Manchester, which had been so long and intimately associated with Dalton. We now realize that Rutherford's work gave us the first concrete proof of the existence of Dalton's atom as a material entity.

The history of Manchester chemistry begins then with Dalton, though the celebrated Dr. John Dee who practised alchemy was one of the post-Reformation wardens of the old college now called Chetham's Hospital. When Dalton came from Kendal, he was ready, as his public announcements show, to teach most branches of natural science—and book-keeping. But he brought with him more than the equipment of a schoolmaster. At Kendal he had already practised the observation and analysis of natural phenomena more especially in connection with meteorology, and his faculty for close and painstaking observation and measurement applied in other directions during half a century brought to him and to the City the fame of which, justly, it is still so proud.

In passing it may be mentioned that one of the most famous scientists of our own day, A. S. Eddington, also came to Manchester after being associated with the same scholastic foundation at Kendal in which Dalton had taught.

Dalton was the founder of Manchester chemistry in more than one sense. He not only set a fashion in chemical research in the City, and by his own personal achievements stimulated those who practised the science, but he also had a part in the movements made to establish a seat of learning in Manchester. At various times there had been attempts to found a college, and Dalton himself had taught in the Manchester Academy. But success was long delayed and the

eventual establishment of Owens College must have been due in some degree to the prestige in learning which Dalton's presence had brought to the City. He did not live to see the foundation of that College where his memory is still faithfully cherished.

There were a number of Manchester men who collaborated with Dalton in certain parts of his work. Among the most notable were the Henrys, one of whom worked with Dalton on the solubilities of gases in water under varying pressures. The Henrys were chemical manufacturers, and one of their products, "Henry's Calcined Magnesia," is still in use with us. Their association with Dalton furnishes us with one of the first examples of that union of pure and applied chemistry which has been so marked a feature of the City's history, and in mentioning this point we may draw attention to one or two other notable cases. Chemistry is a handmaiden of the textile industry and it is therefore not surprising that references to chemical processes in connection with bleaching and calico-printing have often been associated with Manchester names. Thomas Hoyle was one of the early calico-printers and he was a friend of Dalton. The name is still well known in the City. John Mercer, who was considered by Schunck to be the greatest genius who ever applied himself to the improvement of calico-printing, is immortalized in the verb "to mercerize," a process which is known wherever a cotton industry exists. Mercer was not only a "practical man" but also a keen student of theoretical chemistry, though he started his career without the rudiments of learning; and he was one of the first to suggest the existence of a relationship between atomic weights and chemical properties of the kind developed later by Mendeléeff. In

recent times, the first patent for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen, taken out by MacDougal and Howles, provides another local example of fruitful contact between pure and applied science.

Thus it was to a city already interested in pure and applied science that Edward Frankland came as the first Professor of Chemistry in Owens College. His laboratory and lecture room were originally in St. John Street, but were later transferred to Quay Street. Frankland was very proud of them. He claimed that the laboratory was superior in convenience for elementary and advanced students and in lighting, warming, and ventilation, to any other laboratory in Great Britain. Frankland, who at the time of his appointment was only twenty-six years of age, worked in Manchester for only six years. This period was one of outstanding brilliance in regard to progress in research, but it was a time of dwindling hopes as far as the College was concerned. Eventually in 1857, finding the numbers of his students diminishing in a startling way, Frankland left Owens College for St. Bartholomew's Hospital. But the work he had done during that short period is not surpassed by any other that has come from the Chemical School. He had continued the work started at Marburg on the organo-metallic compounds and, developing the great researches associated also with the name of Kolbe, which aimed at the separation and isolation of radicles, he made rapid strides in his conceptions of chemical structure, moving so quickly that Kolbe could hardly keep pace with him. In a short time after he came to Manchester he was able to make the famous statement that "no matter what the character of the uniting atoms may be, the combining power of the attracting element, if I may be allowed the

term, is always satisfied by the same number of these atoms." Presently, very largely owing to Frankland's researches and theoretical arguments, there came the conception of valency. The significant publications concerning this work of Frankland's fall largely within the period of his Manchester professorship, and the City may well congratulate itself on being the place in which such events occurred.

But though his work, like Dalton's, was and remains an inspiration to investigators, Frankland can hardly be said to be the founder of the academic school in Manchester. It was Roscoe who took over the dwindling department—there were only fifteen students in 1857—and he has told us of his fears and anxieties which even reached the point at which he contemplated abandoning the project altogether. It is to Roscoe's great credit that in spite of this he struggled to re-establish what came to be, and for many years to remain, the premier chemical school in the country. Roscoe's own researches on the chemical action of light and his isolation of vanadium from ores obtained at Alderley are of course classic, but he deserves a higher place than can be claimed on the basis of those researches alone. He created a school and made possible developments which have followed under the control of his successors. Whatever may have been his methods there remains the fact that in the school conditions have always been highly favourable to individual as well as to collective research. One of the most striking and important points in his policy was the creation in 1874 of the first chair of organic chemistry in England, the results of which step were to have such a profound effect on the status of organic chemistry as a distinct branch of the science throughout the country. In the present chapter the authors

SIR HENRY ENFIELD ROSCOE

have felt it necessary to deal with these developments in Owens College as a separate theme without regard to historical order.

On the retirement of Roscoe from the Chair of Chemistry in 1887, H. B. Dixon was selected as his successor, and the wisdom of this choice was abundantly proved by subsequent events. Under his régime the Chemistry School breathed the atmosphere of scientific enquiry and the methods of the great scientists were made one of the first objects for the student to study. As in Roscoe's time, enthusiasm for research work was encouraged in staff and students, and nothing was left undone to facilitate the work of investigation in all branches of chemistry. The high traditions of the Department were maintained while it grew steadily in size and activity ; and the success which attended the appointment of Professor Perkin to the charge of the organic chemical side illustrates the far-sighted policy of the departmental direction. The investigations of Professor Dixon and his pupils on combustion and explosion over many years have led to results which are now incorporated with the matter of everyday chemical teaching and have in a number of ways affected industrial and mining procedure and the safety of workers. They are still being extended at various centres in this country, including Manchester University itself, where Professor Dixon directs the experiments in person.

Returning to consider the part played by Owens College in the development of the study of Organic Chemistry, it may be said that Frankland's memoir of 1852 affected all compounds, and on the methyl and ethyl radicles represents the point at which the separate study of organic chemical problems at Owens College began.

Frankland, at this period, expressed his ideas on chemical constitution in a form which, though retaining certain advantages attaching to the "Type" formulæ then in general use, shared with these expressions a certain artificiality which tended to obscure the essential simplicity and symmetry of his fundamental conception. Even in the early "sixties" it was by no means clear whether Frankland's "methyl," $(CH_3)_2$, should be the same chemical individual as the "hydride of ethyl," C_2H_5—H, which could be obtained by replacing the chlorine atom in ethyl chloride by a hydrogen atom. In fact, the recorded physical constants of the two hydrocarbons pointed to the opposite conclusion.

At Owens College, Carl Schorlemmer, who was then an assistant in the laboratories under Roscoe, had made considerable progress with his now classical investigations on the paraffins; and the results obtained with higher members of the series led him to suspect that the supposed discrepancies between the constants obtained by Bunsen for "methyl" and those obtained by Schickendanz for "ethyl hydride" arose from the presence of impurities, probably in Bunsen's hydrocarbon. He therefore prepared the two compounds in the highest possible state of purity, found them to be similar in all important respects, and announced the result in the brief but epoch-making paper, "On the Identity of Methyl and Hydride of Ethyl," which appeared in the *Journal of the Chemical Society* for 1863.

These advances prepared the ground for the more rapid development of Frankland's idea, especially in the hands of Kekulé, who, by reviving Dalton's graphic formulæ, modified in accordance with Frankland's conception of the combining powers of the atoms, gave chemists clear pictures of the modes

in which atoms are linked together in molecules, and pointed out the way to the modern science of Structural Organic Chemistry.

Schorlemmer was promoted in 1874 to be Professor of Organic Chemistry. He continued in this capacity until his death in 1892, and, except for a period of ill-health towards the close, carried on his investigations without intermission.

Schorlemmer's successor was W. H. Perkin. At that juncture, research in aromatic chemistry was being actively prosecuted in the schools of Professor R. Meldola and Professor H. E. Armstrong, both holding chairs endowed by the City and Guilds of London. The intensive study of synthetic organic chemistry in England, however, dates from the return of Perkin from Munich, where he had graduated and subsequently acted first as private assistant to von Baeyer and then as *Privatdozent* in his laboratories.

Perkin's invaluable experience in the great school of chemistry at Munich, following as it did a very early training in the science under the eye of his own illustrious father, fitted him to perceive the great opportunities which were waiting in Manchester for the expansion of the school of organic chemical investigation and to take immediate advantage of them. In the first few years of his tenure of the chair the school obtained recognition as a centre of research on structural chemistry second to none in the world.

Professor Perkin's own investigations on the synthesis and properties of polymethylene compounds, on the constitution and synthesis of alkaloids and other natural products such as brazilin, hæmatoxylin, camphor, and the terpenes, are among the classics of synthetic organic chemistry. The brilliant work of his pupils, Professor R. Robinson and Professor F. L. Pyman, who

recently held chairs in the University, is fresh in the minds of most of us, but their period of office lies outside the range of the present chapter.

The Chair of Applied Chemistry in the University of Manchester was established in the early part of the present century, and therefore during the period to which the preceding paragraphs apply. The first occupant of the Chair was Professor W. J. Pope, now Sir William Pope, under whose direction the fine laboratories for chemistry at the Manchester College of Technology were constructed. His researches on stereochemistry are landmarks in this branch of chemistry. His successor was Professor Edmund Knecht, whose numerous publications had reference to problems of analytical and technical rather than to those of purely scientific interest. Nevertheless, he brought to the solution of those problems the same attitude of mind and the same genius for selecting the kind of topic which lends itself to practical treatment in the laboratory that distinguishes the born investigator in pure science. His analytical methods are widely used in organic chemical laboratories both in universities and in works.

The termination of Professor Perkin's association with Manchester owing to his acceptance of the Chair at Oxford is almost contemporaneous with the end of the pre-War history with which alone this chapter is concerned. It has not seemed practicable to deal with any portion of the great mass of important researches carried out in the Manchester University schools by workers other than those who have occupied chairs within their walls. It has also been necessary to apply the same restraint in considering the possibility of selecting for special mention any famous names from the very long list which testifies to the success of those schools as training

ground for aspirants to high positions in pure and applied science.

Visitors to the Chemistry Department at Owens College should not fail to ascertain the historical associations of the numerous laboratories. They should notice, in particular, the large inorganic laboratories, which were built by Roscoe and were the first of their kind in this country. The Schunck building also has a very special interest, as it was originally the private property of Dr. Edward Schunck and contains his chemical laboratory and scientific library. This, with its contents, including much interesting apparatus and original specimens prepared during his classical investigations on chlorophyll and other plant products, formed part of a most valuable bequest made by him to the Chemistry Department for the promotion of research and the assistance of investigators in the Department. The whole of the building and fittings were transferred, under Professor Dixon's direction, in 1902, from the original site at Kersal, and reassembled in Burlington Street in series with the Schorlemmer and Perkin laboratories. With these and the Morley laboratories, provided a few years later by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, it helps to compose the present completed quadrangle of buildings devoted to organic chemistry.

THE FACE OF MANCHESTER.

THE obvious thing to say about the face of Manchester is that it is a very dirty face, scarred with a lot of ugly things and with great patches that are expressionless and dull. On the other hand, it is equally obvious to the most casual observer that as a whole it is a face full of character, showing great tenacity of purpose. The main streets of the town are lined with strong massive stone buildings, the black velvety quality of which adds to their apparent strength and makes an effective background to any bright moving object. One leaves Manchester after a visit with the impression of grey streaks of sky echoed by equally grey roadways and foot pavements, swept and clean, with a dark black cliff wall on either side. Down these grey paths and between these black walls the moving objects and the street furniture look their best when highly coloured. Manchester is wise, therefore, in having bright red tramcars. Her citizens would be wise to wear the brightest possible clothes. One notices with pleasure that the younger members of one sex generally show this wisdom.

The apparent strength and solidity of the main streets in the centre of the town must be due primarily to the character of the people. Streets of offices and warehouses in other towns have not the same sedate solidity which Portland Street, for instance, shows. That street, as I have observed

elsewhere, seems to me the essential Manchester. The buildings in it are almost all as rectangular and the cornices as level and as regular as in a street in the centre of Paris. In a Paris street, however, the result would have come about from building regulations limiting heights and projections. Here it is a thing of the spirit and consequently much more characteristic. However gay and frivolous some Manchester banks and insurance buildings may be with unnecessary turrets, gables and bay windows (and there are some strange examples of such frivolity), Manchester will not allow such licence to her warehouses. They, I suppose, represent the essentials of her trade, the very reason for her existence to-day. They are too near to her heart therefore for any light treatment. Hence their simplicity, strength, and sincerity, and consequently their real beauty. Such beauty may have been arrived at unconsciously but that makes no difference. If work is done decently and in order, a certain beauty generally arises. The same fine austere character spreads into the surrounding streets of similar buildings. They admit no nonsense too, only sheer straightforward efficiency. There are warehouse buildings in Charlotte Street, Sackville Street, and Princess Street as impressive as any in Portland Street. It must be remembered that these Manchester warehouses which are in a sense the backbone of Manchester are not mere store-houses such as the cotton warehouses in Liverpool or those around the Manchester Docks. It is easy to make such windowless things look strong and effective. Instead they are vast wholesale shops and offices where goods are sold and displayed as well as stored. The goods too vary. They are not just so many similarly sized and shaped bales. All the more credit to Manchester then that to house this light

and varied occupation she has produced buildings of such orderliness and distinction. The warehouses for similar purposes in London, in St. Paul's Churchyard, for instance, and in the Aldersgate Street neighbourhood, are of not nearly such strong and good architecture. It must therefore be something deep down in the character of Manchester which has compelled her architects to respect these buildings, whatever pranks they may play with her other structures such as her one great hotel.

Starting then with this Portland Street architecture as the characteristic fundamental standard of Manchester expression in building, let us look quickly at some of her other streets and buildings.

Deansgate has, I suppose, always been the approach to Manchester from the South and West. Roman Emperors on their way to York and the Great Wall must have marched along Chester Road, staying the night, perhaps, at the camp, which was situated where the mass of railway lines and canals are now near the junction of the Chester Road and Deansgate. If to-day you are coming from the South you probably arrive by way of Oxford Road and reach Deansgate through Peter Street. At the other end of the street is the old church of Manchester, now the Cathedral. Deansgate leads therefore from the Roman Camp to the mediæval heart of the town with its splendid church, its fifteenth-century college for priests, now the Chetham Hospital (its library being the oldest public library in the Kingdom), with the famous Manchester Grammar School close by. It is a pity the buildings of Deansgate are not more worthy then of its historical importance. There is one, however, which redeems it. What it is doing there is a mystery. Among commercial buildings

From a photograph by Ellis

READING ROOM, THE CHETHAM HOSPITAL

of the lesser sort architecturally, however big, stands the Rylands Library, rather as if it were holding itself in from too close a contact with the world around it. In red sandstone with strong flanking towers it looks the treasure house it is. If these flanking towers, however, suggest the fortress, there is ample indication by the richness of the entrance and by the great traceried window rising above it, of the good things within as well as of the noble hall in which they are shown. The central part of the façade might be a piece of mediæval Rouen, so delicate is its slightly flamboyant design and craftsmanship. The whole building, as seen from Deansgate, has that strange mixture of gracious greeting and shy aloofness, of beauties not wholly revealed, which is of the essence of the Gothic spirit (and not often to be found in modern examples) as contrasted with the open welcoming simplicity of the Classic. A great piece of Renaissance or Classical architecture like the Free Trade Hall or St. George's Hall, Liverpool, could not offer to Deansgate the same gentle reproach and reminder of a better way of life than does this delightful and romantic apparition.

Nothing else in Deansgate need detain us. It is merely our approach to the heart of the town from some point in which we can take a general survey. Let us choose the roof of the tallest and most significant of the new buildings, that of the Ship Canal Company in King Street which we find on the right. This first lower part of King Street, however, is merely another and narrower Deansgate, filled with shops too, but pleasanter. It has somewhat the air of a high street in a prosperous country town. Being narrow and not cluttered up with labouring omnibuses as is London's Bond Street—another very similar thoroughfare—it can maintain the right

bazaar-like air. You are tempted to cross and to re-cross it as you should be able to do in a shopping street. When all the buildings had the quiet Georgian character of one or two that are left, it must have competed with St. Ann's Square as a place for promenading. But we must not dawdle with all Manchester before us. Directly we traverse Cross Street and approach the upper part of King Street we are in an entirely different atmosphere. This portion is Manchester's banking centre with the staid nineteenth-century Bank of England building on one side and the overdressed twentieth-century one of Lloyds on the other. These buildings are both of the ordinary Manchester height—one might say of the ordinary English height—that is between sixty and eighty feet. One hardly notices them now though, for a few paces higher up the hill a building, I suppose of more than twice the height, shoots up into the air. It is a good building with some half-dozen storeys of windows set in a plain stone field surmounted by a fine colonnade of coupled columns, the balustrade above being crowned with a figure of Neptune. Behind this figure with its outstretched trident the building sets back and rises again in a plain attic storey. It is a significant building in many ways. It shows for one thing Manchester has reached the sea. It shows also she is reaching up to the clouds. Having spread across the plain in every direction, burying rivers in her course, till she has reached the surrounding hills, Manchester has apparently now made up her mind to extend skywards. I welcome this new development but there are dangers ahead. Let us shoot up to the roof in a lift and see.

The town as seen from above seems a hotch-potch. Most towns do. Even Paris, unless you are over some

Drawn by Edward Adams, A.R.I.B.A.
Designed by Harry S. Fairhurst, F.R.I.B.A.

MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL COMPANY'S BUILDING

central spot like the Arc de Triomph from which great roads radiate, would appear so. Manchester, though we cannot trace them very well owing to the irregularity of the buildings, has her fine array of great radial roads leading out into the country, such as Oxford Road, the Ashton Road, New and Old, and the Hyde Road. They are not mathematically ruled like the Champs Elysees, but that is not our way. They are fine broad roads nevertheless, broader than most English towns possess. What one realizes from this roof is that Manchester, now she has spread so far, needs at intervals new towering masses of buildings to focus the eye, to break the skyline and, by their dominance, to hold the town together. In smaller towns the churches and other public buildings do this. But in Manchester these are already buried or are being buried by the commercial structures. Beautiful buildings like the Art Gallery in Mosley Street, by the architect of the Houses of Parliament, just disappear in the mass until you get up to them. Even the great Victorian Gothic Town Hall is loosing its relative size and impressiveness owing to the increasing size of its commercial neighbours. It will always be saved to a certain extent by the square in front of it, but its tower will soon be over-topped and its mass completely over-weighted by new seventeen-storey buildings such as the one here illustrated, which Messrs. Tootal Broadhurst Lee Co. are proposing to erect for the easier distribution of pocket handkerchiefs. But what is to happen to this building when some one next door wants to do the same or even to build higher ? Manchester already has a warning example. The Ship Canal Building in King Street, on which we are supposed to be standing, has now a neighbour, the building of the Atlas Assurance Company,

which has crept up under its flank and destroyed its symmetry. Perhaps that was the revenge of fate on the Canal Building for lifting high above the town not only its comely front but a Mary Ann back made of a cheaper material.

From all of this then it seems clear, firstly, that these new tall buildings are needed architecturally by a town of Manchester's size to give interest and emphasis; secondly, that they must be kept separate from one another both for this purpose and for their mutual protection, to say nothing of the streets below becoming sunless wind-swept ravines, for it is obvious that ordinary rights of light and air are not sufficient to curb big corporations once they determine to scale the firmament. Thirdly, each of these tall buildings must not only be an isolated structure but, being such, must be treated, not as a building with a façade on one side and a back and flanks which do not matter, but as a tower to be seen from any and every direction. If a building is to have the privilege of dominating Manchester it should be worthy of it. The town, I suggest, should introduce new bye-laws governing these points. Bye-laws designed for four- or five-storey buildings at most are not suited to twenty-storey ones. We have no excuse if we just sit still and allow unfortunate things to happen as they have already done in King Street. America has met all these problems before us and has now everywhere produced her zoning laws to isolate her tall buildings and to let light into her streets. We must do the same, only, with our irregular towns, our zoning laws must go further and separate these great buildings until they are a quarter of a mile or more apart. A few well-placed tower buildings of twenty storeys or so would give the life and romance to the Manchester skyline it so badly needs. A mass of them side by side in all the chief streets

Drawn by Edward Adams, A.R.I.B.A.
Designed by H. S. Fairhurst, F.R.I.B.A.

PROJECTED TALL BUILDING FOR
MESSRS. TOOTAL BROADHURST LEE COMPANY LTD

would, in time, produce in the centre of the town a new and worse Ancoats. My suggestion is, then, that the town should choose certain commanding sites, irrespective of who owns them at the moment and endow these sites with the right to have tall buildings erected upon them of approved design ; the building owners to pay a definite fine to the town when they exercise this privilege. For the rest of the town I suggest Manchester should go back to the London limit of 80 feet with two storeys in the roof. This question of tall buildings has kept us a little while from our rapid glance at the face of Manchester. As that face, however, is already becoming marked in a haphazard way by such buildings it is very necessary to have clear ideas about them. Such tall steel frame structures represent our age as can no other buildings. To deny ourselves their finest expression seems ridiculous ; yet to allow anyone to attempt them who cares to, without any regard for the town as a whole, would be more so.

Looking down from this vantage-point one sees that the face of the town is not only dirty from its million chimneys, having to consume most of its own smoke as if it liked it, but is scribbled on in a thousand places like children scribble on walls. Giant lettering everywhere is stretched across the face of buildings fair or foul. There may not be more of it than in other towns but from this height it seems so. Again a self-denying ordinance limiting the size of letters on buildings, such as Oxford now possesses, would hurt no one if rigorously applied and would benefit all. It would help to restore that Portland Street character, that appearance of sturdy independence which the history of the town and of the causes in which it has led England so amply proves. If a contrast is needed in an amusement area—and I am all for contrasts when a

town gets beyond a certain size—I suggest that one or two streets like Market Street and Peter Street should be allowed unlimited signs, electric or plain, and that these things should be restricted to them. Let them be "the great white ways," the Broadways of Manchester, remembering that New York herself while she allows such things in Broadway prohibits them in Fifth Avenue.

But to return to our bird's-eye survey. Practically at each point of the compass are the four great terminal railway stations. That Manchester should have terminal stations is very significant. It means that she was the progenitor of railways rather than the inheritor. They started with her instead of being forced upon her. As with many of her mills and factories she has suffered in being a pioneer. If she had developed later she might have zoned her factories keeping them away from residential districts. In the same way she might have ringed the town with lines connecting all her railways, saving it from the ugly tramp of viaducts and embankments across her borders as well as from the handicap of transhipments. Looking farther afield the same may be said of her parks. She has these in ample numbers in all directions but they are disconnected, and there is no parkway or wooded drive round Manchester linking up all the chief open spaces. Then every one will admit there is not enough green,—hardly a tree or a blade of grass, indeed,—within the central square mile. In this respect she is far behind London and most of our other big towns. When in the near future the burning of raw coal is prohibited or taxed as an uncivil thing, which should happen directly the proper substitutes are available, one of the first things Manchester should do is to plant lime or plane trees in the widest of her streets and in all her open spaces

like St. Ann's Square. They existed in this latter in the eighteenth century.

Looking down on the great buildings of the centre one sees the new Royal Exchange, ponderous and rather blatant in its exterior architecture. One remembers, however, an interior, which at High Change must be more like that of one of the great Roman basilicas than any building in the land, with its vast marble columns rising from crowds of minute human beings. In contrast to this last of the unchastened buildings of pre-War wealth (of which Lloyds Bank is another example) we see rising above their neighbours in many directions the cleaner lines and plainer surfaces of several more recent structures, such as the Royal Mail building, the Manchester Liners, the Yorkshire Assurance and the Midland Bank. These seem to indicate a new and saner if slightly leaner era. One wishes for the sake of the streets they are in that they could have been built on wider sites offering more chance of continuity to the street lines. Though on suitable sites I am all for occasional campanili,—great towers and romantic piles of building bursting upwards to the sky,—to get the best value from such things I am equally for maintaining and strengthening the horizontal lines which are the essence of street architecture. Paris again is the great example. By strict regulations she maintains not only the surface of the street cliffs on either side but the level skyline too which enhances the perspective. American cities on the other hand for this very reason have no streets at all, only collections of magnificent buildings. With their gridiron plan one might go further and say they have no cities, merely collections of city blocks all of the same size.

Manchester, on the other hand, with its big fan of great

radial roads approaching its heart from every direction and through every sort of district has obvious unity together with intense and varied character, however ugly and degraded various parts of the town may be. The chief fear I have for the new districts on the outskirts, where housing schemes are rapidly swallowing up the old village centres and natural focal points, is that although we are no longer building rows of box-like houses we are still manufacturing rather dreary neighbourhoods, where little houses all of the same pattern seem to have been sprayed on the landscape as by a gentle shower from heaven. One feels one wants to push these houses about, to condense them in some places into little friendly groups of crescents and terraces and to open them out in others in order to leave space for real gardens and playing fields. Liverpool is beginning to discover that there is already a great monotony of life in its new housing areas in spite of each house having its own tiny garden,—a monotony which is making some folk look back already with regret to the old friendliness of the slums. I hope when each of our big towns really tackles its slums—and Manchester should be the first to start under Mr. Simon's inspiration,—it will do so, not by clearing great areas such as Ancoats and transporting the population to the outskirts, but by rebuilding on the sites themselves. Vienna has done so, with great simple white buildings round courtyards, each building a self-contained unit with its school, its public baths, its public laundry and its bakehouse. By going two or three storeys higher,—say five instead of two,—a great deal of ground space could be saved. In Vienna such space is turned to admirable account. Gardens and playgrounds are formed within the buildings, often having a fine group of modern sculpture in the centre contrasting admirably with the

Messrs. Thomas Worthington & Francis Jones, Architects

MEMORIAL HALL, THE NEW GRAMMAR SCHOOL, FALLOWFIELD

great white cliffs of building rising round it on all sides. Some areas, full of character,—including perhaps the one so ironically called Angel Meadow, which I was told held the worst slums in Manchester—should be preserved by reconditioning the buildings internally and whitewashing them externally from top to toe, a process to be repeated annually by the unemployed. The street doors and windows should then be painted brilliant colours, as in Holland, and the whole area closed to ordinary traffic by post and chains, so that its streets and courts could become safe playgrounds. Some of the little eighteenth-century houses in such districts with their bright curtains look pleasant enough already if only they could be certified clean and healthy—that is the rub.

The whole problem of a great English commercial town is comprised in the question of how to make it answer efficiently every modern need without destroying the fine qualities of inherent and acquired character which its various districts possess. Rather let us enhance them. Manchester, for instance, is fortunate above most commercial towns in having in its midst on a slight eminence, surrounded on two sides by rivers, the magnificent group of the mediæval buildings of the Cathedral and of the Chetham Hospital. The latter buildings, however, are blocked and squeezed by the Grammar School on one side and by a row of inferior commercial buildings on the other. The Grammar School is to be rebuilt shortly on another site with the stately building here illustrated. Could not the commercial buildings go too, so that these splendid mediæval ones would stand out for all to see ?

Then Manchester is rapidly developing an educational centre with the halls of residence of the University and similar institutions, including the new Grammar School. It should,

I suggest be the policy of the town to continue this process. Manchester has its Jewish and other foreign quarters. Let it be proud of them. Such things give character and interest to any great city. What no city should have in any quarter, however, is untidiness, dirt, and squalor. I have seen in Manchester a disused brickfield with great waves of barren land unclothed by grass or trees which seemed to me as depressing and even terrible as any picture of no man's land in the late War. It looked as if any vile thing might happen in its hideous ravines. There were dense masses of houses overlooking it on all sides. One was almost frightened to pass such desolation in daylight, yet there it was within, I suppose, half a mile of the heart of the town.

On the other hand, what romantic magnificent things Manchester does when she sets her heart and mind to it! She makes a vast lake within her borders and brings the sea to it so that great ships now cross the countryside to this inland city. She surrounds this lake with quays and warehouses and grain stores, which out of their direct engineering efficiency become things of beauty. There are views across the great sheet of water at Salford to be seen to-day which take one's breath away and then make one rejoice to belong to the little race of men that can do such things.

HOW COMMERCE HAS ASSISTED CULTURE THROUGH THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

To the student and to the lover of rare and beautiful books there is no more attractive place of pilgrimage in the north of England than the John Rylands Library, with its fortress-like towers, its great traceried windows, its cathedral-like atmosphere, and its priceless contents.

It owes its existence to the enlightened munificence of the late Mrs. Rylands, the widow of John Rylands, by whom it was erected, equipped, and liberally endowed as a memorial to her late husband, whose name it perpetuates. It was formally dedicated to the use of the public on the 6th of October, 1899.

There is little of the glamour of romance about the life of the man to whose memory the library is dedicated. It was a life of hard work, frugality and persistent endeavour, which enabled him to climb, step by step, to the almost unparalleled position which he ultimately attained in the Manchester trade. John Rylands was endowed with that abounding energy, combined with sagacity and financial ability, which enabled him to turn to good account many an enterprise that other men had been unable to develop, and which they had regarded as worthless. He was very astute and far-seeing. He took up one enterprise after another, and made of each an upward step in his career, which was one of uninterrupted prosperity.

He was a tremendous worker. In the warehouse he was the first to arrive and the last to leave. Not only was he a great organizer and administrator, he was also a remarkable judge of men, and by surrounding himself with men of character and ability, who were able to assist him in his numerous enterprises, he built up the immense business concern with which his name is still associated.

John Rylands was of a peculiarly retiring and sensitive disposition. He shrank from public office of any kind, although he was not by any means indifferent to public affairs. The absorbing cares of business necessarily prevented him from living as much as he would have wished among books, but he took an interest in all that related to literature, and was always ready to extend his help and encouragement to students. He took a special interest in adding to the studies of Free Church ministers gifts of books which were beyond their own slender means to provide, but which were necessary to keep them in touch with the trend of religious thought, since, in many cases they were stationed in rural districts remote from anything in the nature of a library, and were literally "passing rich on forty pounds a year."

When, therefore, upon the death of Mr. Rylands, which took place on the 11th of December, 1888, Mrs. Rylands found herself entrusted with the disposal of his great wealth, she resolved to commemorate the name of her husband by dedicating to his memory an institution devoted to the encouragement of learning, which should be placed in the very heart of the city which had been the scene of his varied activities and triumphs. She recalled the little library at Longford Hall, Stretford, for many years the residence of Mr. Rylands, which he had watched over with so much care,

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

and which had been of incalculable benefit to many a struggling minister, and accordingly resolved to establish a library in which theology should occupy a prominent place, where the theological student should find all the material necessary for his study and research. It was intended to be a religious foundation in the broadest sense of the words. There were to be no sectarian limitations to vex students, no "index expurgatorius" to exclude from the shelves any author who might propound theological views contrary to those held by the founder or the administering body.

With this idea in view, Mrs. Rylands, in 1889, within a year of the death of her husband, entered upon the collection of standard authors in all departments of literature, and in the year 1890 the erection of the present building was commenced from the design of Mr. Basil Champneys, who was commissioned to design a building which should be an ornament to Manchester, in the construction of which only the best materials should be employed. No expense was to be spared, and it is not too much to say that, as a result, stone-mason, sculptor, metal-worker and wood-carver have conspired, under the direction of the architect, to construct a building in every sense worthy of the priceless collection of treasures which it was intended to enshrine, and which has come to be regarded by competent authorities as one of the finest specimens of modern Gothic architecture to be found in this or in any country.

The scheme was conceived in no narrow spirit, and the purpose in view was allowed to mature and fructify as time went on. This was fortunate, for various unforeseen circumstances helped to give a shape to the contemplated memorial which neither the founder nor anyone else could have anticipated.

Whilst the building was rising from the ground books were being accumulated, but without ostentation, and few people were aware that a great library was in process of formation.

The only interruption of the perfect quiet with which this project was pursued occurred in 1892, when there came to Mrs. Rylands the opportunity of giving to this memorial a grandeur which at first had not been contemplated. In that year it was announced that Earl Spencer had decided to dispose of that most famous of all private collections "The Althorp Library." Lord Spencer wisely stipulated that it should be sold as a whole, so as to obviate the disaster of its dispersal in all directions. Recognizing that the possession of this collection would be the crowning glory of her design, Mrs. Rylands, at an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million of money, decided to become the purchaser.

While these negotiations were proceeding, scholars throughout England were in a state of great suspense. As soon, however, as it was known that the collection, which Renouard, the famous French bibliophile, had described as "the most beautiful and richest private library in Europe," was to find a permanent home in England, a great sigh of relief went up. The nation was relieved to know that so many of its priceless literary treasures were to be secured for all time against the risk of transportation, and the public spirit manifested by Mrs. Rylands was greeted with a chorus of grateful approbation.

Thus it came about that a collection of books was acquired for Manchester, which in many respects was unrivalled, the possession of which gave to the City a distinction enjoyed by few others. By the acquisition of the Althorp Library the scope of the original plan of a great theological library had

been enlarged, and it was decided to establish a library for the stimulation of learning, and for the extension of the boundaries of human knowledge, whether in the departments of theology, philosophy, history, philology, literature, art or bibliography, where students would find not merely the useful appliances for carrying on their work, but an atmosphere with a real sense of inspiration, which would assist them to carry it on in the loftiest spirit.

In this great metropolis of the north of England, which had come to be regarded as an important centre of intellectual activity, a place was already open for such an institution, and in a short time it gained a reputation that it might have taken a century or perhaps centuries to acquire, if it could have been acquired at all, had it begun in the ordinary way. It is not surprising, therefore, that it received the hearty welcome of the scholars of the country, and sprang as if by magic into a prominent place among the great libraries not only of this country but of the world.

Mrs. Rylands' interest in the library did not end with the erection and equipment of the building. She endowed it with an annual income for its maintenance and extension, and again and again when rare and costly books or collections of books came into the market, which were beyond the reach of the ordinary income of the library to secure, she readily found the money for their purchase, if only she could be assured that the usefulness of the library would be enhanced by their possession. Never has the philosophy of large giving had a better illustration.

In the year 1901 another instance of the munificence of the founder and of her continued interest in the library was made public, with the announcement that the celebrated collection of

illuminated and other manuscripts belonging to the Earl of Crawford, numbering upwards of six thousand examples, had been acquired for a sum only a little less than that paid for the Althorp collection. This addition to the library's resources was of immense importance, since it gave to it a position with regard to Oriental and Western manuscripts similar to that which it previously occupied in respect of early printed books through the possession of the Althorp Library, for just as the distinguishing mark of that collection was to be found in the early printed books, so the manuscripts formed the distinguishing feature of the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana."

The library property is vested in a body of trustees who hold office continuously, whilst the administration is entrusted to a council of eighteen governors appointed under regulations prescribed in the constitution, which are based on broad and liberal principles. The trust is an independent one and is in nowise subject to the control of the municipality or of the government, nor does it derive any financial support from the City or the State. Its income is derived from endowments provided by the founder, and it may therefore be regarded as an international endowment of scholarship.

The aim of the Governors has been to build up a reference and research library on the lines of the British Museum, within certain prescribed limits, which shall be accessible to students of all nations. That this policy has been abundantly justified is borne out by the fact that one of the outstanding features of the use made of the library during the thirty years of its history, is the large amount of original research work which has been conducted within its walls by students from all quarters of the globe.

It was inevitable that the possession of so great an inherit-

ance of literary treasures should cause the library to become a place of pilgrimage by reason of its world-famed collections, yet, from the first it has been the steadfast aim of the administration to make it an efficient working library for students, by providing the best authorities which come within its scope, so as to excite and diffuse a love of learning, and at the same time assist the original investigations and efforts of those who might wish to devote themselves to the pursuit of some special branch of study. As a result the library has developed into an admirable laboratory for historical and literary investigation.

As an indication of the growth of the library's collections during the thirty years that have elapsed since its inauguration, it needs only to be stated that, when it opened its doors in 1899 it possessed not more than 70,000 printed books, and less than a hundred manuscripts, whereas to-day there are upon its shelves not fewer than 350,000 printed books, 10,000 manuscripts, 20,000 proclamations relating to France, Italy, Spain and the Low Countries, many thousands of autographs and prints, a constantly increasing collection of early charters and deeds numbering already many thousands, and other collections too numerous to mention.

Although the Althorp Library, which consisted of rather more than 40,000 volumes, and the Crawford collection of Manuscripts numbering 6000 examples, are but parts of the John Rylands Library as it is constituted to-day, they are by common consent the most splendid parts.

The distinguishing feature of the Althorp Library is the collection of early printed books to the number of nearly 3000, which, in point of condition, has but few if any rivals, thanks to the scholarly instincts possessed by the founder of the library at Althorp. For something like thirty years the second Earl

Spencer haunted the sale rooms and booksellers' shops throughout Europe in his eagerness to enrich his collection with whatever was fine and rare. In justice to the memory of the scholar who formed the nucleus of this famous collection, and fired the ambition of Earl Spencer to emulate his example as a collector, it should be stated that the event which more than anything else determined the ultimate character and scope of the Althorp Library was the acquisition by the young Earl, in 1790, of the collection formed by Count Reviczky, a Hungarian nobleman of considerable fortune, a great traveller, an equally great scholar and linguist, who is said to have acquired thorough familiarity not only with the great languages of antiquity, and the modern languages of ordinary attainment, but with the languages of Northern Europe, and with a majority of the languages and chief dialects of the East. As an ambassador, he was entrusted with several diplomatic missions by the Emperor Joseph and the Empress Maria Theresa, and everywhere he made himself renowned as a collector of fine books, and especially of the monuments of printing. His collection of the primary and most choice editions of the Greek and Latin classics approximated more nearly to completeness than that of any previous or contemporary collector. What he prized in a fine book was the freshness and purity in which it left the printer. A copy on vellum had a great attraction for him, and he was not insensible to the charms of a "large paper" copy, or of a copy in the original binding.

It was upon the foundations laid by this scholarly book-lover that the Althorp Library, and ultimately the John Rylands Library has been built, for it was the acquisition of the Reviczky collection that determined the character and

scope of the Althorp Library, and it was the acquisition of the latter by Mrs. Rylands that has largely determined the character of the John Rylands Library.

In the same way it may be said that the present magnificence and character of the Rylands collection of Oriental and Western Manuscripts was determined in 1901 by the acquisition of the Crawford Manuscripts, and owes a great deal to the foresight and scholarly judgment of the successive members of the House of Lindsay, who have been responsible for the formation of the great private library which is best known to scholars as the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana," of which the manuscripts referred to formed but a small, though a very precious, part.

Turning now to a very brief survey of the contents of the library, one of the most noteworthy features is the collection of books printed before the year 1501, arranged upon the shelves of the room specially constructed for their accommodation. Commencing with the specimens of block-printing, those immediate precursors of the type-printed book, which may be described as the stepping-stones from the manuscript to that remarkable development which took place in the middle of the fifteenth century, with the introduction of the printing press.

The first object to claim attention is the famous block-print of "Saint Christopher," bearing the date 1423, to which belongs the distinction of being the only known copy of the earliest known piece of European printing to which an unquestioned date is attached.

From the simple leaf print to the block-book was the next step in the development of printing, and of these the library possesses fifteen examples.

By means of the examples of the productions of the press

by movable types, commencing with Mainz in Germany, it is possible to follow the art of printing step by step in its progress through Europe. Though the printing press may be said to have been born in Germany, the full flower of its development was first reached in Italy, at Venice, at that time the home of scholarship.

Of many of the examples the Rylands copies are the only ones known to be extant.

Of books printed by the first English printer, William Caxton, the library possesses sixty examples, of which four are unique, and, of several others, including Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," only one other copy is known.

Of these monuments of early printing to the number of 3000, of which three-fourths were printed before 1480, the majority are remarkable for their excellent state of preservation, whilst many of them are printed on vellum.

Not less remarkable than the "Incunabula" is the collection of books printed at the famous Venetian press, founded by the scholar-printer Aldus, in or about the year 1494. The collection is considered to be the largest ever brought together, numbering, as it does, upwards of 800 volumes, many of them printed on vellum. The press of Aldus is best remembered for its Italic type, which was first employed in the Vergil of 1501. This innovation meant not only a reduction in the size of the volume to a dainty format, but a considerable reduction in the price. The most famous of Venetian illustrated books, the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," the wood engravings of which are supposed to have been designed by Giovanni Bellini, was also a product of this press.

Equally noteworthy are the Bibles that have been brought

together in the Bible Room, comprising as they do, copies of all the earliest and most famous texts and versions, together with the later revisions and translations. As the art of printing made its way across Europe, the Bible was generally the first, or one of the first, books to be printed by many of the early printers. Four editions of the Bible in Latin, and two great Latin Psalters had appeared in type before a single volume of the classics had been dealt with in a similar way. The earliest printed Bibles were of the Latin Vulgate, of which no fewer than one hundred and twenty editions had appeared before 1500. Of these eighty-five are represented in the Rylands collection. The history of the English Bible in particular is fully illustrated from Wiclif to the present day.

On the classical side the library is pre-eminently rich, with its remarkable series of early, and of fine impressions of the Greek and Latin classics, which with few exceptions still retain the freshness they possessed when they left the hands of the printers more than four hundred years ago. On a recent occasion we were able to exhibit of each of the fifty principal Greek and Latin writers the first printed edition, including the only known copy of the "Batrachomyomachia" of 1474, which has the distinction of being the first printed Greek classic.

Of the great masters of Italian literature the library possesses a considerable collection. The Dante collection alone numbers upwards of 6000 volumes, including five manuscripts, and is specially rich in early editions of the "Divina Commedia," comprising the three earliest printed editions issued respectively at Foligno, Jesi, and Mantua in 1472. All the great masters of Italian literature are represented in their earliest and best editions, including the only

perfect copy of the first printed edition of Boccaccio's "Il Decamerone," issued by Valdarfer at Venice in 1471.

The department of English literature is also remarkable for its richness. It is not possible to do more than mention a few names, and therefore the extent of the collection must not be estimated by the limited number of works to which reference is made. There are original editions of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Bunyan, Walton, Ben Jonson, Drayton, More, Surrey, Tindale, and a number of the smaller pieces of Elizabethan and Restoration literature. On the modern side there is an equally representative collection of the original issues of the principal writers.

Theology occupies a prominent place in the library by reason of the special character that was impressed upon it from its inception.

The historical section, which has been gradually and systematically built up by well-selected purchases, commences to attain some measure of completeness, so that students, whether of the ancient, classic, mediæval, or modern periods, find the library's range very comprehensive.

The same remarks may be applied to the department of philology, of voyages and travels, sociology, of the ancient, mediæval, and modern schools of philosophy, and of the fine arts.

The library possesses a large number of books which have an interest in themselves as coming from the libraries of famous collectors, and if the books themselves excite interest and admiration not less striking is the appropriateness and often the magnificence of the bindings.

We must only make the briefest reference to the manuscript collection, comprising, as it does, upwards of 10,000

examples illustrating in a very complete manner, not only the history of writing and illumination, but also the history of materials and methods which have been employed from the earliest times for the preservation and transmission of knowledge from one age to another. Many of the manuscripts are of world-wide fame, and are well known to scholars, who always have had ready access to them.

This sketch of the history of the library and of its contents has touched only the fringe of a few of the most important collections in a most superficial manner, whilst many sections have had to be passed over entirely. It will serve, however, the purpose of conveying some idea of the scope and character of this carefully chosen collection of the world's literary masterpieces whether in manuscript or in the earliest and best printed editions, many of which are in the finest possible condition and state of preservation.

LITERARY MANCHESTER.

THE literary history of Manchester during the last four centuries falls into three phases, which, in a broad diagrammatic way, may be symbolized by the names of Humphrey Chetham, John Byrom, and Elizabeth Gaskell.

In the first phase Manchester acquired a great library, but hardly produced books herself; in the second she wrote, sometimes cleverly enough, but as a provincial outpost of letters, without distinctive note; in the third, she became herself the subject and inspiration of literature provincial only in the sense that it powerfully reproduced the life and character of a province.

I.

Up to the end of the seventeenth century the place was a populous industrial village, called by Leland, indeed, the "quickest" town in Lancashire but, in all matters of learning and letters, contributing little and fitfully to dissipate the darkness which then overhung the northern counties of England, somewhat lifting at most over their ancient capital, York. It had indeed a grammar school. And the Collegiate Church was already a point of repair, if not for learning, for sincere curiosity about it, as well as for those obscure adventures in the underworld of erudite pseudo-science out of which the beginnings of genuine learning have commonly been evolved. Two of the Wardens of the Collegiate Church, one near the

beginning of the sixteenth century, the other near its close, disturb thus dubiously the general obscurity. The first, on being appointed Bishop of Ely, made fervent overtures to Erasmus, the greatest of living classical scholars, then sojourning, to his great contentment, in hospitable England, to be his tutor in the Latin for which, we fear, the Warden had found no occasion in the Manchester College. A child of darkness, doubtless, but a child "crying for the light," and secure like his fellow-townsmen for some centuries yet from the blasé superiority of a great modern Cabinet minister who, on being appointed Secretary for the Colonies, bade his secretary come upstairs "and show him where those damned places were." The other Warden is a more sinister figure, whose record is longer and more legendary, and whose mysterious fascination, exercised upon emperors and kings, noblemen and poets in his own day, is still unexhausted in ours. John Dee, who was born under Henry VIII and died under James I, owed his appointment as Warden of the Manchester College to Queen Elizabeth, whose often capricious favour had been his since the time when he had been summoned to determine, by scrutiny of the stars, the most favourable day for her coronation. He had then been introduced to her, and had given her lessons in the mystical interpretation of his own writings. These were already numerous and abstruse ; he had studied mathematics and astrology at Cambridge and Leyden, lectured at Rheims, become a Fellow of Trinity, and incurred the dangerous suspicion of seeking to take the life of Queen Mary by "enchantment." In 1551 he made the acquaintance of Edward Kelly, an apothecary of much less impressive antecedents but even more remarkable accomplishments. For, like Glendower, he could discourse with spirits, and like

Paracelsus, and most of the other chemists, had found the philosopher's stone. The pair formed a partnership, and acquired throughout Europe, but especially in Poland and Bohemia, a legendary renown, alluring but perilous ; now courted by princes eager for intercourse with spirits, now seeing their chemical library burnt, like that of a greater chemist, Joseph Priestley, two centuries later, by an indignant mob. It was this old scholar, of chequered and far from immaculate experiences, whom the Queen, still friendly to her old tutor, perhaps a little fascinated also like the rest, by his mysterious pretensions, as Queen Victoria seems to have been by the oriental blandishments and exotic prestige of Lord Beaconsfield, appointed, in 1595, to be Warden at Manchester. In this haven he passed nine years, cataloguing his writings and relating his conversations with the spirits. When in 1610, two years after his death, Ben Jonson prepared his unforgetable exposure of astrology, alchemy, necromancy, and all the other dark arts, in his great comedy of "The Alchemist," it was probably the redoubtable pair, Dee and Kelly, whom he portrayed in *Subtle*, the hero, and his yet more cunning helper, *Face*.

II.

In 1647 Humphrey Chetham set up in the derelict College of the Collegiate Church, the first public library in England. It is still known by his name, and survives, an oasis as of old-world Oxford, amid the roar of busy streets. Its foundation marks the formation of an incipient reading-public, a nucleus of persons who combined commerce and industry with an interest in literature. From the beginning of the eighteenth century this cultivated nucleus became sufficiently large and

important to give Manchester a place among the more lettered of English towns. The Grammar School, the Chetham Library, and the Collegiate Church, all of them well-endowed, formed definite coigns of vantage for this still precarious culture, and Chetham Librarians and Collegiate Wardens figure largely in the spare literary annals of the eighteenth-century town. In 1719 the first newspaper, the *Manchester Weekly Journal*, was established, and in the same year the list of Manchester publications opens impressively with a volume of mathematical lectures, read before the local Mathematical Society by one John Jackson.

Five years later a native of Manchester, already distinguished in Cambridge and London, returned to settle in his birthplace, and to become the one poet, recognized in literary history, whom Manchester can claim with full right as her own. John Byrom (1692-1763) came of a family which had done and was to do substantial things for the town. The son (like Pope) of a well-to-do linen draper, he studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, then under the formidable headship of Richard Bentley, and is said to have drawn the shepherdess of his pretty idyll "Colin and Phœbe," from the Master's little daughter Joan, then aged eleven. He also contributed two papers on Dreams to the *Spectator* (August 27th and 30th, 1714), which Addison, though knowing nothing of his young correspondent, introduced to his readers with a very complimentary preface. His ingenuity took a more practical form in his invention of a system of shorthand, which, though apparently more elegant than rapid, was widely admired, and procured his election, in 1724, to a fellowship of the Royal Society, as well as the acquaintance of many men of distinction. His ability included a little, however, of

the enterprise which seizes a clue, and makes the experiments that lead to discovery. It is now known that an acquaintance of his, inspecting the books left by Samuel Pepys, on his death in 1703, to his old College (Magdalene) at Cambridge, found among them, not only his well-known though still undeciphered Diary, but the key to the cipher he had used. He naturally communicated the fact to his friend Byrom, as a well-known connoisseur in such matters. A modern, on half such a hint, would have posted off to Cambridge by the next train. But the eighteenth century was rarely in a hurry; Byrom was comfortable, his practice was large, and the journey to Cambridge tedious and long. He let the matter rest, and so it did, and the dust too rested on the "Diary" for another hundred years, until the keener curiosity and sturdier persistence of the nineteenth century, without help from the key, itself only later rediscovered, deciphered the script and opened this wholly unexpected treasure to the world.[1]

Byrom's own "Diary," though quite of another order of importance as literature, has interest as a record of intellectual and literary intercourse such as had little place in the daily doings of the gallant young official whom "Pepys's Diary" reflects. It describes interesting conversations, among others, with Bentley, Butler, Samuel Clark, and William Law. To the last-named he was drawn into close relations by a common vein of religious mysticism. He sought to popularize by paraphrase Law's noble but esoteric prose; he learned German in order to read the German mystic Jakob Boehme; and he has described in some of his happiest verses the palpitating joy

[1] For an account of this matter see "S. Pepys," by A. Ponsonby (1928).

with which he secured at a London auction a portrait of the great French thinker Malebranche who "saw all things in God." Byrom's forty years' residence in Manchester was given partly to medical practice (he had studied awhile at Leyden), partly to Jacobite politics, carried on, however, with a prudence which always kept to windward of treason, and saved him, in 1745, from incurring the fate of the distinguished fellow-townsmen whose heads subsequently adorned the first Exchange; and partly in tempering Hanoverian and other despotisms with epigrams and *jeux d'esprit* which frequently had some salt, but were innocent of either pepper or vinegar. His form of "blessing" for King and Pretender—

> God bless our Lord the King, the Faith's Defender;
> God bless (what harm in blessing?) the Pretender.
> But which Pretender is, and which is King,
> God bless us all, is quite another thing—

is something of a classic in its kind; and almost as well known, though less pointed, is his sarcasm at the expense of the monopolists of the Grammar School, at whose Mill (in Millgate) all corn in Manchester had still to be ground. A wider and far more lasting audience was won by his hymns, especially the "Christians Awake," a worthy fellow to the contemporary work of the Wesleys. It was composed by the organist of the Collegiate Church, John Wainwright, who may be said to open the history of Manchester music as Byrom opens that of Manchester letters. Byrom left a large library, rich in the mystics and the shorthand-writers. His name is commemorated in a Manchester street which stands at right angles with Quay Street, and ends in a fine old Manchester town-mansion later occupied, in turn, by Richard Cobden, the first Owens College, and the Manchester County

Court. His own house, Kersal Cell, on the northern heights, still exists. In no sense a great man, John Byrom yet deserves a place in the long list of literary physicians, with Pope and Swift's friend, Arbuthnot, in his own century, Sir Thomas Browne in the century before, and John Brown of Edinburgh in the century after, who form one of the lesser glories of our literature.

III.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the signs of intellectual activity in widely different fields steadily grew. The most significant of them was the foundation, in 1781, of the "Literary and Philosophical" Institution. It originated in a meeting held in a tavern by a number of Manchester men interested in letters or in science, and had thus at the outset neither the predominantly specialist, nor the predominantly scientific, character of its later phases. In 1759 James Thyer, the learned Chetham Librarian of the day, edited the "Remains," hitherto unprinted, of Samuel Butler (the earliest of the three famous Butlers, and of the two famous *Samuel* Butlers, of our literature), the author of "Hudibras," making accessible for the first time his pungent and illuminating *characters*—a substantial service to literary history. A Warden of the Collegiate Church, Richard Wroe, whose pulpit oratory won him the name of "Silver-tongued Wroe," published, in 1782, a treatise on "The Beauty of Unity"; an apt subject, for the Collegiate Church had long been the focus of the hottest Jacobitism of the town. There was probably more local colour in the work of another clergyman, Thomas Seddon, who published, in 1779, a set of lampoons under the innocent title of "Characteristic

Strictures upon a Series of (imaginary) Portraits." For the rest, Manchester already had her historiographer, Thomas Whittaker having published his "History of Manchester," a meagre fragment, it is true, in 1771. Nay, she already had her epic poet, one James Ogden, who in the heyday of the Seven Years War vanquished the French in a portentous heroic poem, "The British Lion Rouz'd" (1762), published by local subscription ; and nearly thirty years later celebrated the glories of King William in "The Revolution : an epic poem in twelve books" (1790), with invocation, guardian angels, and the rest of the approved epic machinery, besides a preliminary exposition of the laws of epic which for lofty self-consciousness might have ushered in "Paradise Lost" itself.

Yet with all this literary effulgence, it was still possible for a young poet, whose verses were considerably less wooden than those of "Poet Ogden," to knock in vain at the gate of an opulent Manchester cotton-dealer—perhaps one of the very men who had subscribed in their hundreds to hear the roar of "The British Lion Rouz'd." For this, the reader will remember, was the fate of Samuel Taylor Coleridge when, as he tells in the "Biographia Literaria," he came here, one December day of 1795, seeking subscribers for his "Watchman." Coleridge entered the office and was granted a personal interview with the great man. "He . . . measured me from head to foot and again from foot to head, and then asked if I had any bill or invoice of the thing ; I presented my prospectus to him ; he rapidly skimmed and hemmed over the first side and still more rapidly the second and concluding page ; crushed it within his fingers and the palm of his hand ; . . . and lastly putting it into his pocket turned his back on me with an

'*over-run* with these articles!' and so without another syllable retired into his counting house."

But Manchester cotton-dealers were not all like this. Coleridge's younger friend, De Quincey, who had passed his boyhood in Manchester but had no prejudices in its favour, has left a tribute of very different tenor to Manchester society. "In Manchester I have witnessed more interesting conversation, as much information, and more eloquence in conveying it, than is usual in literary cities or places professedly learned. . . . The time is more happily distributed" (so he explained the phenomenon); "the day given to business and active duties, the evening to relaxation . . . so that books are more cordially enjoyed."

Thomas De Quincey's birth here (in 1785) is accounted Manchester's most illustrious contribution to the generating forces of our literature. But Manchester was for him little more than a place to get away from or at least to pass through. It was while waiting for the train in a Manchester tavern that he wrote the "Vision of Sudden Death"; but Manchester had no such intrinsic share in the result as Coventry could claim in the poem which beguiled Tennyson's enforced leisure under similar circumstances.

Yet, during the first half of the nineteenth century, Manchester men, if not very prolific themselves, contributed remarkably to literature in others. The death of Charles Gough on Helvellyn, in 1805, set Scott and Wordsworth singing; the "massacred" operatives of Peterloo provoked Shelley's "Masque of Anarchy" and Henry Hunt's "Letters from Manchester Gaol"; the brothers Grant, twenty years later, were immortalized in the Cheeryble Brothers of Dickens; reminiscences of Manchester (his birthplace) helped to furnish

the Wardour Street Waverleys of Harrison Ainsworth (1805-1882); while the hardly less melodramatic but far abler picture of Manchester presented by Disraeli in "Coningsby" (1844) provided the country at large, on the eve of the Anti-Corn Law crisis, with a rough working idea of the still half inarticulate populations which were now asserting their formidable power. It was in these years that Manchester acquired its clearly marked individuality—for Europe as well as for England—among English towns; and as "Manchesterthum" became, with continental economists, a label for the most distinctively English school of economic thought, so the "Manchester Man" became a recognized type of character, available for satire or caricature, for the novel or the stage. Hence the well-known novel of Mrs. Linnæus Banks (1876). A vigorous sample of the "Manchester Man" described by himself may be gathered from the reminiscences of Samuel Bamford ("Passages from the Life of a Radical," etc.), the weaver who suffered imprisonment after Peterloo. But the sturdy independence of the type breaks down in his feeble imitative verses ("Poems," 1844); nowhere more distinctly than when he tries to capture the note of poets of the people like himself—of Ebenezer Elliot or of Burns.

IV.

Of far greater merit, however, than any previous study of Manchester character was that achieved by Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1810-1866) in "Mary Barton" (1848), and, with less distinction but more art, in "North and South" (1855). Mrs. Gaskell was not a native, but, as a resident and the wife of a leading minister, was qualified both by intimacy and by detachment for her task. Nearly all her books were written

in her Manchester home ; and the plain but dignified Georgian house, now alas ! empty and forlorn, was for sixty years, until the recent death of her eldest unmarried daughter, a focus for literary, scientific, and philanthropic Manchester, and the frequent resort of persons of distinction from outside. Not least among these was Charlotte Brontë, whose life she was afterwards to write.

Literature had indeed since the third decade of the century found not merely a hospitable shelter but something like a home in Manchester. We do not speak of the writing of this or that erudite or distinguished book by her residents or her sons ; of the classical and Norse translations, for instance, of William Herbert (*d.* 1847), the last Warden and first Dean ; or of "The History of the Siege of Gibraltar," by Colonel Drinkwater-Rethune (*d.* 1844), who had taken part in it. These, though the race of writing deans did not die out with Herbert, were mere "sports." But on three kinds of literature—none, it is true, of the highest—Manchester may be said to have set her mark ; journalism, antiquarianism, and dialect-writing, in prose and verse.

On May 5th, 1821—the day of Napoleon's death at St. Helena—John Edward Taylor, a vigorous local champion of Liberalism, founded the *Manchester Guardian ;* at first as a weekly paper, at the price of 7d. This is no place for either eulogy or disparagement of a great political organ ; but our brief history would be gravely incomplete without a reference to the momentous services which, especially during the last half century, it has rendered to the intellectual and social life of Manchester, in part by the high literary standard it has steadily maintained, but even more by its powerful advocacy of those cultured interests to which poor Coleridge, just a

quarter of a century before its foundation, had found his "opulent cotton-dealer" so impervious. Four years later a rival organ, the *Manchester Courier*, was founded, with Alaric Watts, a brilliant young journalist, as its first editor. A second Liberal paper, *The Examiner and Times*, was conducted during the third quarter of the century with distinguished ability. Its last editor, Henry Dunckley ("Verax") stood in the highest rank of living journalists.

The proprietor of the *Examiner*, Alexander Ireland, was the most distinguished scholar among the Manchester men of business of his day. He was a specialist in Hazlitt, and published a valuable bibliography of his works, as also of those of Leigh Hunt, an exhaustive collection of them, with those of William Godwin, being in his own library. He was the host of Emerson on his memorable visit in 1847, to which there are many references in the "English Traits." Kindred collections were to be found, or were growing up, in the Manchester neighbourhood. The vast antiquarian library, and equally vast antiquarian learning, of James Crossley were famous all over England. John Eglinton Bailey, whose days were spent in a cotton warehouse, possessed all the editions of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," and wrote the most authoritative life of Thomas Fuller. Of slighter note, but typical of much obscure industry, may be mentioned the Tractarian collection of John Finlayson, a clerk in the Bank of England, and that of the works of self-educated poets by a police-superintendent, Gee. John Harland laboured with Baines upon the history of Lancashire. Edwin Butterworth and William E. A. Axon explored the local history of Manchester with inexhaustible industry, resulting in the "Tabula Mancuniensis" of the one and (among a host of other

antiquarian and literary writings) the "Annals of Manchester" of the other. More collective expression had been given to these activities by a number of academic societies—the Chetham Society, which has published among other works a valuable edition of Byrom, the Spenser Society, the Manchester Goethe Society (1886-1896), the Manchester Literary Club, which now publishes a periodical, the *Manchester Quarterly*, and others. The late President of the Literary Club, George Milner, was for thirty years the genial centre of Literary Manchester, and several of its departed members, especially the poet H. S. Sutton, deserve a passing mention. The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society has long had its headquarters here. Finally, these manifold literary and collecting activities were worthily crowned by Mrs. Enriqueta Rylands, who, in 1898, founded the great John Rylands Library.

A less bookish audience was, in the main, addressed by the writers in dialect. The father of Lancashire dialect literature in the strict sense (for the fourteenth century "Gawain and the Green Knight," which Lancashire may perhaps claim, was written before a national literary language had begun to exist, and Spenser, though he peppered some pages with Lancashire words, "writ no language") was the homely schoolmaster of Milnrow, John Collier (1710-1786), better known by his still homelier pseudonym, Tim Bobbin. "Tim Bobbin" and his songs and tales have remained a kind of legend in Lancashire; but the day of dialect literature hardly dawned here before the middle of the nineteenth century, when a number of dialect writers (genuine and otherwise) sprang up within a few years; particularly Ben Brierley and Edwin Waugh. Brierley produced between 1850 and 1890

From a photograph by F. W. Schmidt

C. E. MONTAGUE

a long series of sketches, tales and farces, rivalling the popularity of Tim Bobbin under his frequent style of "Ab-o'-th'-Yate," and excelling in rough but thoroughly genial humour. Edwin Waugh also started about 1850, and by 1880 had produced a score or more of sketches and tales, with poems and songs. Waugh was more of a literary artist than Brierley, and delighted to present his broadest humours in a setting of rather too consciously refined and decorated prose.

Apart from dialect, Manchester writers have produced several novels and sketches of literary note during the last half-century. Of the older generation it must suffice to mention (living writers being excluded) Louisa Potter's "Lancashire Sketches" (1879), Jessie Fothergill's "The First Violin," and others, and the subtle and beautiful "Fireside Fables" (1910) of Edwin Barrow, minister of Cross Street Chapel.

It is now, unfortunately, relevant to speak in this place of the late Charles Edward Montague, probably the most distinguished writer, in the stylistic sense, whose literary career has been mainly spent in Manchester. After a brilliant career at Oxford, Montague joined the staff of the *Manchester Guardian* in the later 'nineties, and continued for nearly thirty years to be one of the pillars of that journal, both as a leader-writer and as a dramatic critic. A great athlete, climber, and oarsman, on the outbreak of the War, though above military age, he enlisted, as a private, dyeing his prematurely white hair, it is said, to secure acceptance. Proving eventually incapable of the physical strain, he accepted a commission, and thus obtained a scarcely equalled variety of military experience, from the ranks to headquarters. This was the staple of his great book "Disenchantment," a passionate exposure and indictment, under its brilliant and ironic form. The same rich

experiences of camp and field, crossed and enriched with his parallel experiences in climbing and journalism, inspired a series of novels and short stories, especially "Fiery Particles," which at the time of his death at the close of 1927, had raised him to the front rank of British writers in novelistic form.

Since 1850 Literary Manchester has received important accessions from the members of the great foundation of John Owens, and its successor the present University. During their professorial residence in Manchester were written books of such distinction as Jevons' "Theory of Political Economy," Adamson's "Fichte," Schorlemmer's "Spectroscope," Roscoe's "Elementary Chemistry," and Principal Ward's classical "History of English Dramatic Literature" (to mention only writers no longer living). Latterly, the University itself has established an official Press issuing many series of publications in various branches of knowledge. The University counts among former students Francis Thompson and George Gissing.

THE MANCHESTER LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

A GLANCE at the history of science shows that, until the influence of the Renaissance had spread in that direction, the works of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Galen, and Pliny were looked upon as embodying all that needed to be known in their several departments. In the seventeenth century a change, already foreshadowed, was in progress; important advances, which it would be idle to attempt to enumerate here, were made in all branches of science, and a spirit of enquiry became general. What is of importance from the present point of view is that, whereas previously discoverers and inventors had worked independently, in their own studies, observatories or workshops, and published their results, usually in Latin, at long intervals, there gradually arose a sufficient number of persons interested in natural philosophy to form associations for discussion and mutual improvement. Already in 1645, such meetings were held in Gresham College, a sixteenth-century foundation, and after a temporary removal to Oxford, where the Philosophical Society was instituted, the more influential members returned to London.

Shortly afterwards, in 1662, the Royal Society received its charter at the hands of Charles II. No other scientific society has so long a history. The Accademia de' Lincei at Rome dates from 1609, but, like the Académie des Sciences at Paris (1666), it is a State-aided institution.

The movement thus inaugurated in the capital spread by slow degrees to the provinces: thus at Birmingham, about 1768, Erasmus Darwin, Boulton, Watt, Priestley, Wedgwood and others, met together on the nights of full moon and called themselves the Lunar Society in consequence. Such a brilliant group could hardly hope to find successors of equal eminence, and the society became extinct after a few years.

Similar associations were formed during the eighteenth century at Liverpool, Bristol, Norwich, Edinburgh, and Dublin, but in most cases had only a temporary existence. Meanwhile botanic gardens and physic gardens were established; chairs of mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, and natural philosophy were founded at the Universities; and periodicals such as the *Gentlemen's Diary* and the *Ladies' Diary*, with mathematical and philosophical problems for solution or explanation, made their appearance. In Manchester the situation is perhaps best explained by an extract from the preface to Vol. I. of the "Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society" (1785):—

"Many years since, a few gentlemen, inhabitants of this town, who were inspired with a taste for Literature and Philosophy, formed themselves into a kind of weekly club for the purpose of conversing on subjects of that nature. These meetings continued, with some interruption, for several years, and many respectable persons being desirous of becoming members, the numbers were increased so far as to induce the members of the society to think of extending their original design."

The result was that the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society sprang into being on February 28th, 1781, with no more than 25 members, but the number was increased to 53 by the end of the year. No older provincial society,

with similar aims and with a continuous history, exists in Great Britain, and there are comparatively few in any part of the world. The Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh dates from 1771, but has long devoted itself to Zoology and Natural History. The Royal Dublin Society obtained its charter in 1750, and still flourishes ; the Royal Society of Edinburgh was founded in 1783. On the Continent there are a number of eighteenth-century Academies, the more important ones State-aided ; the remainder were literary and debating societies, not specially concerned with natural science. In France they were suppressed during the Revolution, but revived later. The American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia (1744), and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston (1780) appear to be the only two strictly comparable societies which can claim to be older than the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.

Nearly half of the founders were honorary physicians or surgeons to the Manchester Infirmary ; four were Fellows of the Royal Society, and one only, the Rev. Thomas Barnes, D.D., F.R.S., was a minister (at Cross Street Chapel), but it was not long before several other clergymen joined. No more distinguished name appears on the list than that of Thomas Percival, M.D., F.R.S., a leader in all the important movements in the town, and a frequent contributor to the Society's Memoirs. He was joint president with James Massey from 1782-1786 and sole president from 1789-1804. A marble tablet, commemorating his virtues and the esteem in which he was held, hung for more than a century over the President's chair in the old meeting-room, but was afterwards removed to the present Council-room.

Massey was Boroughreeve of Salford, and joint president

with Peter Mainwaring, M.D., then 85 years of age, in 1781-1782.

There is a long list of honorary members, including Erasmus Darwin, Benjamin Franklin, Lavoisier, Priestley, and Volta. Franklin was a correspondent of Percival's, and two extracts from his letters, dated 1771 and 1784, appear in Vol. II. of the Memoirs (1789).

The early volumes were issued at irregular intervals from 1785 onwards, and contain papers by Percival, Massey, Rev. George Walker, D.D., F.R.S., and other members of prominence during that period.

Various literary subjects, archæology, economics, belles-lettres, mathematics, medical topics, agriculture, and so forth, are dealt with, and in many cases the essays are such as would gladly be consulted by modern workers, did they but know where to find them.

The French Revolution is not included; indeed, the members were so afraid of touching political questions that in 1791 a proposed letter of sympathy to Dr. Priestley, after the burning of his house by Birmingham rioters, was referred back, whereupon Priestley's son, James Watt, Jr., and two others, resigned their membership. Priestley's unpopularity was due to his pamphlets, which were usually audacious, not to say ill-advised.

The Memoirs give no indication of how the meetings were conducted, but it appears from the Minutes that members were more ready to listen to papers than to provide them. By way of encouragement a gold medal of the value of seven guineas was offered to the author (whether a member or not) of the best experimental paper on any subject relating to Arts and Manufactures, which should be read before March 31st,

JOHN DALTON

1785 ; and a silver one, of the value of one guinea, to any member, under the age of 21, who should do the like in Literature or Philosophy.

The gold medal was awarded to Edward Hussey Delaval, a chemist and inventor of note, for a paper on "The Permanent Colour of Opake (*sic*) Bodies" ; and the silver one to Thomas Henry, Jr., who chose "The Controversy between Henry Cavendish and Richard Kirwan on the Cause of the Diminution of Common Air in Phlogistic Processes."

Four awards of a Dalton (bronze) medal have since been made, viz. to Edward Schunck (1898) ; Sir H. E. Roscoe (1900) ; Osborne Reynolds (1903) ; and Sir E. Rutherford (1919).

After the arrival of Dalton in Manchester in 1793 a more productive period for the Society was ushered in. He became a member in 1794 and shortly afterwards read a paper on his colour-blindness. A man who, though short-sighted, had good vision in ordinary respects, but could not distinguish between grass-green and crimson, was bound to be a source of wonder and amusement to his friends, and Dalton's case aroused much interest. It was not, however, until many serious disasters had occurred owing to engine-drivers and pilots having the same peculiarity, that the subject received the attention it deserved.

During his fifty years of membership Dalton read 116 papers to the Society, but only 26 of them appear in the Memoirs. A full account of how he was led to develop the Atomic Theory, by Dr. Andrew Meldrum, will be found in Vols. LIV. and LV. of the Memoirs (1910-1911). The four papers are also procurable in one volume.

Dalton was secretary from 1800-1808, then vice-president

till 1819, and president till his death in 1844. He gave the Society a prestige which it would not otherwise have enjoyed, and this was continued for about thirty-five years by Joule.

Other distinguished names belonging to the period 1800-1850 may be mentioned, for example, Eaton Hodgkinson (elected 1820); (Sir) Joseph Whitworth (1832); William Rathbone Greg (essayist and author, 1833); (Sir) John Hawkshaw (1839); Rev. W. Gaskell (1842); (Sir) William Fairbairn (1842); James Prescott Joule (1842); Edward Schunck (1842); Robert Angus Smith (1845); and James Prince Lee, D.D., F.R.S., first Bishop of Manchester (1849).

In 1837 the Society took part in a movement to exempt scientific societies from local taxation, and by 1843 a law to this effect was passed. About the same time a six-inch Ordnance survey map for the north of England, instead of the projected one-inch map, was decided on, largely through the Society's efforts.

In 1845 a committee of the Society was appointed to enquire into the origin and nature of the potato disease, then rampant, and the best method of combating it. Their report advocated the rapid drying of the crop, the rejection of unsound tubers, and the frequent exposure to light and air of such as were not diseased.

A second era in the Society's history is identified with James Prescott Joule, who, when a boy of 16, came under Dalton's tuition for about two years at the Society's present house, but the master had a severe paralytic stroke in 1837, which put an end to most of his activities, and from which he never properly recovered.

Joule's first paper to the Society was read in 1841, on

"The Electric Origin of the Heat of Combustion," and was followed by many others.

All his work on the mechanical equivalent of heat, which makes him one of the outstanding figures in scientific history, was done in the neighbourhood of Manchester.

He was librarian in 1844, secretary (1846-1850), vice-president (1851-1859), and president for four biennial periods between 1860 and 1879. A detailed account of his life and work, by Professor Osborne Reynolds, will be found in Vol. VI. of the Memoirs, Fourth Series, 1892.

William Sturgeon, inventor of the electro-magnet, may be mentioned with respect even in such company. He became a member towards the end of a life marked in its early period by quite exceptional hardships and difficulties, and read occasional papers. He died at Prestwich in 1851.

The opening of Owens College in 1851 brought several distinguished scientific professors to Manchester, and the Society's premises and library drew them into close association with it. But until 1882 the presidents were non-academics of the old guard, such as Fairbairn, Joule, Binney, Angus Smith, and Schunck. In the year mentioned, Roscoe took the chair, followed in turn by Williamson, Balfour Stewart, Osborne Reynolds, Schuster, Lamb and others, down to the present time.

The value of the Memoirs increased considerably owing to this connection, and societies in all parts of the world continued to ask for exchanges.

A third name which, from the Society's point of view, is worthy of being linked with the two that have preceded, is that of Henry Wilde, D.C.L., D.Sc., F.R.S., who by his generous endowments, amounting in all to over £10,000, provided

for a salaried assistant-secretary, and added very greatly to the comforts and resources of the house. He will always be remembered as the inventor of a dynamo which yielded currents of a strength undreamt-of previously, and so prepared the way for modern developments. He also took out patents in connection with searchlights, and the electro-deposition of copper, thus amassing a fortune which he distributed liberally to the University of Oxford, the Académie des Sciences, and in other directions. His death, at the age of 86, took place in 1919. For details of his life and work see the account in Vol. LXIII. of the Memoirs (1920), by the late Professor Haldane Gee.

The University of Manchester has furnished the Society with a number of eminent presidents and officers, and is now the predominant partner, though alternate presidents are chosen from outside. At frequent intervals many important papers have been contributed by the professors and lecturers, and the reputation of the Memoirs was never higher than at present. Papers read to the Society are entered in the Royal Society's Catalogue.

Though not in any way debarred, literary contributions have of late been so rare that the Society's dual title is much less appropriate than in the early days.

The membership has fluctuated from time to time, and there have been periods when the prospects appeared dark. During the War, for example, the number fell to about 120, and economies were necessary in various directions, including the bulk and format of the Memoirs. In 1919, however, there was an accession of 200, of whom the Manchester Chemical Club contributed 147. These form a separate section, and hold their meetings independently of the Society,

but the Chairman and Secretary are ex-officio members of the Council. There have been other sections from time to time, but none was permanent.

Since 1900, when Miss L. W. Faraday became a member, ladies have been elected freely, and have read papers on various occasions. The present membership is over 240, besides which a few Student Associates are admitted at a reduced fee by permission of the Council. There are also about 30 honorary members.

In 1781 the Society held its meetings in the Assembly Coffee-house, which was probably in the Exchange buildings of that day. Before the year expired, a room was hired at the back of Cross Street Chapel, and used for a considerable time. A removal was made in 1799 to 36 George Street, which had been purchased for £600, and this has been the Society's home ever since.

Dalton was allowed the use of one of the rooms for teaching purposes, and for a laboratory, but he lived many years with the Rev. W. Johns, in Faulkner Street, not far away. Private houses were then numerous in the vicinity, and the commercialization of the centre of the town had hardly begun. A marble tablet, erected by Dr. Schunck, in what is now the assistant-secretary's room, commemorates Dalton's connection with it.

The house has been enlarged, chiefly through the liberality of Dr. Wilde, and contains some very valuable Sheraton furniture, portraits in oils of Newton, Davy, Dalton, Joule and several past presidents, medallions, bronze, plaster, and marble busts, and a large collection of portraits of distinguished scientists, among them over a hundred presented by Mr. Francis Jones, F.R.I.B.A., in memory of his father, the late Mr. Francis

Jones, M.Sc., F.R.S.E., who was secretary from 1896 to 1906, and president in 1909-1911.

As regards relics of Dalton the Society is in a unique position. His chemical and other MSS., including fifty-seven years' meteorological observations, his lecture-diagrams, flasks, thermometers, balances and weights, barometers, microscopes, an electrical machine, Leyden jars, an orrery, a planetarium, and minor pieces, are carefully treasured, together with his medals, the chief of which is the Copley medal of the Royal Society, and a few articles of personal property.

The Society also possesses two of Joule's thermometers with very large bulbs, very narrow bores, and nearly a yard long; also a chronometer-watch, used by him in his researches.

The Society's chief feature is its splendid library of scientific serial publications. About 600 of these are currently received, and there are over 42,000 volumes, included in which are a numerically large but relatively not disproportionate number of unbound sheets. They come, not only from all parts of the United Kingdom and Europe, but of the British Empire; from the United States, Japan, China, South America, the West Indies, the Philippine Islands, and the Dutch East Indies. In most cases there is a complete series of each, but some gaps must always remain in spite of efforts to diminish them.

In addition there is a far from insignificant nucleus of non-serials, e.g., the Challenger Reports, the Palæontographical Society's publications, the works of Galileo, Huyghens, Cayley, Cauchy, Bacon, and others, the "Principia" and "Arithmetica Universalis" of Newton, various old and rare books on logarithms and fluxions, and so on. One of the curiosities

is the "Elements of English Grammar," published by Dalton in 1801.

Arrangements have been made with other libraries in the City to prevent needless overlapping.

The library is an "Outlier" in connection with the Central Library for Students, and has received substantial assistance from the Carnegie Trustees on this ground. It is also one of the few which contribute to the Union Catalogue.

In 1897 Dr. Wilde provided for an annual lecture to be given by a distinguished man of science, and the names of Sir G. G. Stokes, Sir Michael Foster, Sir W. Ramsay, the late Lord Rayleigh, and Professor Élie Metchnikoff, to take only the first five, show that the movement found favour in the highest quarters. After three interruptions, brought about by various circumstances, they were again revived in 1926, and since then have been held annually, the last lecturer to add his name being Sir Richard Paget (1929).

Since 1921 a Young People's Meeting has been held during the Christmas holiday season, at which two short experimental lectures, separated by an interval, have been given, and have proved very popular.

MANCHESTER AND ITS PRESS.

THE people who lived in Islington Street, Salford, were dimly aware—something more than a hundred years ago—that two rather remarkable young men were in their midst. There was this young Mr. Taylor and in the very next house to young Mr. Taylor there was young Mr. Prentice. Both of them walked into Manchester in the morning. They passed long days in counting-houses. It was the way they spent their leisure that marked them out from other young men who lived about there. As for John Edward Taylor, he had always been a very studious lad. Why, when he was a boy of fifteen, he was going twice a week to Mr. Dalton—that Mr. John Dalton in Faulkner Street—who taught figures! Even after he was apprenticed to Mr. Oakden, the manufacturer, he kept on with his books. Not that Mr. Oakden did not think a lot of him. He was rising rapidly in Mr. Oakden's business. But somehow his life was not in the office, even though he looked like being a partner there soon. One year he went for a visit to London and, when he came back, he had seen people and things which had been seen by no one else in Islington Street. He had been to the Opera at Covent Garden. He had been to a prison where he had visited the well-known Mr. Leigh Hunt who had said that the Prince Regent was "a corpulent Adonis of fifty." When he came back from London, he had a copy of Lord Byron's latest poem under his arm. Yes! This young Mr. John Edward Taylor

who lived with his father and his sister in Islington Street, Salford, in 1812 and from then onwards for several years, was certainly a remarkable young man, and you couldn't tell anything about him, but some one would have something equally good to tell about young Mr. Prentice who lived in the very next house. They were a pair!

It was not only that they were always reading books! Anybody could do that! Young Mr. Taylor's father who lived with him, and had once been a Unitarian minister, was never seen with his head out of a book. But the rumour now was that these two young men were not only reading things, but were writing things themselves. And these things which they wrote were being printed week by week in one of the Manchester papers. There were two or three papers in Manchester. For a number of years it has been a great place for newspapers. Newspapers were lighted and snuffed out like candles, because it was seldom very long before each one in its turn offended either some magistrate or some mob. Shabby and silly little prints most of them were and very scurrilous too. But Mr. Cowdray's paper was the best the town had ever had. Mr. Cowdray began it in 1795 and called it *Cowdray's Manchester Gazette*. And this Mr. Cowdray was a clever man. He wrote witty little paragraphs for his paper and then put his apron on and set up his own satire in print at the office—which was also his own house—in St. Mary's Gate. Not only had Mr. William Cowdray some ability himself but he knew ability when he saw it in others. And so when *Cowdray's Manchester Gazette* had been going about twenty years, he invited young Mr. Taylor and young Mr. Prentice to become contributors. He could not pay them. The revenue of *Cowdray's Manchester*

Gazette was not large enough for that. But they were both well enough paid by seeing themselves in print, and it was soon said, by those who were in the secret, that young Mr. John Edward Taylor, in particular, was putting new life into *Cowdray's Manchester Gazette*. The association of these three men—William Cowdray who was getting on in years now, and the young John Edward Taylor and Archibald Prentice forms the real beginning of Manchester journalism. These three together are the stem of the tree.

A place on the staff of *Cowdray's Manchester Gazette* carried with it no salary, but it added a spice to life which most men would have thought rather too hot. Journalism, as Cowdray and his two assistants now practised it, was a dangerous game. The most advanced politician in England to-day, wherever he be—in Battersea or on the banks of the Clyde—knows nothing of the perils to which John Edward Taylor was exposed for attending Cross Street Chapel and being a Whig with a pen in his hand. Tsarism presided over England in these early years of the nineteenth century. The Government had set itself to keep the country free from the contagion of the French Revolution. With one hand it was making war upon the French people abroad and, with the other, repressing all opinions that looked like French opinions at home. In Manchester as elsewhere—more particularly in Manchester where machinery was throwing all the hand-loom weavers out of work—all the political and many of the social rights of man had to be put down. This repressive work was done by the manorial court leete. In particular it was done by Joseph Nadin, the deputy constable who was known, and excessively feared, in every cottage house as "Mesthur Nadin," and whose genial remark to a poor weaver on the way to

Lancaster Gaol—"we'll larn thee to be a Jacobin"—is one of the classic sayings of gaolership. To the Whig or, as they were beginning to call him, the Liberal journalist, Joseph Nadin was a large and looming fact. "Are you not afraid," said Prentice to Cowdray one day, handing in a paragraph which went rather far—"are you not afraid of an indictment for this." "Not I," said Cowdray, "write away."

But the law was not the only source of danger. Another peril came from the opposite point of the social compass—the severity of the mob. Manchester possessed in these Napoleonic days a professional mob the viciousness of which was a local product and almost a local patent, and nothing in the history of the town is more curious than the spectacle of Cross Street Chapel, standing up steadfastly for the rights of the people, while the people, fortified with free drink from the numerous public houses, broke its windows and uprooted trees from St. Ann's Square to smash in its doors. This mob ruled Manchester for many years. But in course of time Nadin and his men overdid things and lost the undivided support of the crowd. An incident occurred in 1812—the year in which John Edward Taylor set out from Islington Street, Salford, to see the opera at Covent Garden—which signalized the appearance of a counter-mob. In that year the "Church-and-King" people held a meeting to welcome a further twist of the repressive screw. Those who dissented called a meeting too, and this meeting, getting out of control, bettered the instruction it had been receiving for some ten or twenty years, and burnt down the Royal Exchange. John Edward Taylor became seriously involved in this event. They said on the Tory side that it would never have happened but for a placard headed "Now or never" which had been pasted on the walls of the

town. The authorship of this manifesto was fastened on Taylor. Seven years later the story was still going about, and, when Taylor's name was up for election as an assessor in Salford, the chairman of the hole-and-corner meeting at which these obscure officials were chosen, publicly charged him with having instigated the burning of the Royal Exchange. There was nearly a duel on Kersal Moor! Finally Taylor wrote to his critic, describing him bluntly as "a liar, a slanderer, and a scoundrel." In next to no time, he was at the Lancaster Assizes, charged with criminal libel. The prison doors were closing on John Edward Taylor, but somebody placed his foot in the right place and prevented the snapping of the lock. This was John Rylands of Warrington who happened that day to be foreman of the jury. The prisoner was acquitted. The next day—or rather on the same day because the verdict was given in the small hours—Taylor returned to Manchester in the coach. John Childs of Suffolk, the famous printer of the Bible—who had somehow strayed on to the stage of these events—advised Taylor very strongly to turn his public position to account and to begin a newspaper of his own. This advice was the seed which was afterwards to spring up as the *Manchester Guardian*. But it had to abide for the present in the ground, and for two years more Taylor went on with his work on *Cowdray's Gazette*.

And then on August 16th, 1819, the great event of Peterloo occurred. Everybody knows about Peterloo—how a great meeting was held on the place where the Free Trade Hall now stands to demand the Parliamentary vote; how people came to this meeting in their Sunday clothes from all around Manchester, walking behind bands and banners—with children among them—very much as though it had been a

modern Whit-Monday ; how the Yeomanry and then the Hussars were let loose upon them ; how eleven people were actually killed and nearly six hundred wounded ; and how the upper-class people of Manchester who had been watching the procession from their windows, not without sympathy, because one of the objects in view was to win for Manchester a voice in Parliament such as Old Sarum had—how Mosley Street and the residential quarters drew down their blinds on this shocking termination of the day. This is not the place to dwell on the political results of Peterloo, though these results were important, for the affair brought masses of well-placed people over to the popular cause and hastened by many years the advent of the Reform Bill which was carried thirteen years later—in 1832.

It is with Peterloo as an event of some interest in the history of the English platform and the English newspaper that we are concerned. It was probably the first public meeting in England attended by reporters, as reporters attend meetings to-day. Both the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Liverpool Mercury* had their men, or were represented, as the saying is, at Peterloo. It is still more important that *The Times* had sent a reporter from London. A serious accident happened to the reporter of *The Times*. The authorities mistook him for an agitator and marched him into gaol. It was this accident which gave John Edward Taylor and Archibald Prentice the chance of their lives. When the coach left Manchester that night, it contained two full descriptions of the Battle of Peterloo written by them for London newspapers. The official version never overtook these reports, and when the indignant Mr. Tyas who represented *The Times*, was released in a day or two, his

account of the affair corroborated those which had been written by Taylor and Prentice. The day's work was the making of these two men. Within two years—in 1821—John Edward Taylor had obtained the backing which enabled him to establish the *Manchester Guardian.* Two years later—in 1824—Prentice, who was a much stronger Radical than Taylor, turned *Cowdray's Gazette* into the *Manchester Times,* from which sprang the *Manchester Examiner and Times* and, in the following year, a certain Thomas Sowler, who had been a bookseller in St. Ann's Square, gave Toryism its voice in the town by starting the *Manchester Courier.* In the fifties and sixties all three became daily papers, sold at one penny. They are inseparably associated with the Victorian age in Manchester. All Manchester people who have reached middle life remember them well—not just singly but as a trio singing treble and alto and bass.

The subdued voice during this long middle period was that of the *Guardian.* The reader may perhaps remember how Lord John Russell, to whom chiefly the English middle-class owed its enfranchisement, came to be known as "Finality John," so sure was he that the Reform Act of 1832 was a millennium on which it were almost impious to improve. John Edward Taylor was rather of the same opinion. He worked hard for the incorporation of Manchester and was one of the fathers of the City Council. But his interests were more and more in the technique of journalism, and when he died in 1844 of a "throat" which he caught several years before in one of the open carriages of the new railway to Liverpool, the *Guardian* was respected for fullness and accuracy of news, but was not read for ideas. Jeremiah Garnett, who succeeded Taylor in the editorship, was a

follower of Palmerston. He fell so far from grace, as grace was understood by the "Manchester School," as to support the Crimean War, and when John Bright was defeated in Manchester in 1857, Cobden said, if he did not swear, that the *Guardian* was largely to blame for the shocking event. Steering this middle course, the paper passed in 1861 into the control of its third editor—John Edward Taylor, a son of the first of that name. It was he who made the *Guardian* as good as a London paper. He established the London office and the private wire and the Parliamentary report. It is still more to the point that, when he retired in 1871, he appointed his cousin, the young Charles Prestwich Scott, then fresh from Oxford, as his successor. But several more years were to elapse before the spirit of the new editor began to tell.

During this long period of time the *Manchester Examiner* was the voice of the tabernacle. It was owned in part by the Bright family and was quite definitely the organ of the Manchester school of politics. Two of Manchester's most distinguished citizens were closely connected with the *Manchester Examiner*. One of them, Alexander Ireland, who lived for many years in Bowden but ended his long life at a house in Mauldeth Road, Fallowfield, came to Manchester from Edinburgh, where he had been associated with William and Robert Chambers. He was the only man in the country in the secret of the authorship of "The Vestiges of Creation." In later years he became the close friend of Thomas Carlyle and his wife, and the charm of his character and company was praised by Emerson in the highest terms. Alexander Ireland, whose name is carried on by his son John Ireland, the musician, was himself only an occasional writer, though he

performed a great literary service in making William Hazlitt known to a generation which had overlooked and forgotten him. His office with the *Manchester Examiner* was that of manager and chief proprietor.

The editorship was held for many years by Henry Dunckley whose pen-name of "Verax" was one to conjure with for many years in the north of England. Henry Dunckley was a stylist. The Liberal view of Church and State never had a more lucid expositor than Dunckley, and the curious attempt which Queen Victoria seems to have made in middle life to raise the status of the Crown higher than England cared for, was exposed to the public and largely defeated by him. But he was not a born editor, and the ungodly used to say that the habit—in which his subordinates followed him—of escaping to Fallowfield and Withington while the night was still young was the cause of serious accidents to the *Examiner*. It was not this, however, that caused the *Examiner's* final displacement by the *Guardian*. That occurred in 1886 when Mr. Gladstone was converted to Home Rule and called on the Liberal party to be converted also. The *Examiner* was strongly under the influence of John Bright, and when John Bright dissented frome Home Rule the *Examiner* dissented with him. Only indeed for a few weeks. But in those few weeks the *Guardian*, strong from the first for Home Rule, had taken its warm corner in the heart of Liberalism. The rest of the *Examiner's* days were mere superfluous misery. Dunckley himself joined the company of *Guardian* writers.

Steady support from this time onwards of the cause of Home Rule developed in the *Manchester Guardian* that "Minority mind" which has been its priceless contribution to

From a drawing by F. W. Schmidt

C. P. SCOTT

the public life of England. Home Rule for Ireland was never a popular cause. English opinion was obdurate against it, and Gladstone pleaded in vain for about one half of what was conceded without trouble in the thaw which followed the European war. But the Home Rule cause was a school of opinion and almost of character. For ten solid years the Gladstonian Liberal had given up everything for the peasants of Connemara and Clare. Then the scene of oppression changed, but the heart did not change with it. The bias in favour of the small boy and against the big boy—more particularly if the big boy happened to be the British Empire because he, of all big boys, ought to have known better—this bias continued and the true Gladstonian was found on the side of the Boers. There were real risks in the partisanship and the *Guardian* ran them to the full under Mr. Scott. "To give up the *Guardian*" became in those few years a new verb in the grammar of local speech. It was conjugated in all its moods and tenses. "I am giving up the *Guardian!*" "I shall give up the *Guardian.*" "I have given up the *Guardian;* may I borrow yours for a moment?"

This was the fire the paper went through during the South African war. It came out wonderfully annealed, and when its hundredth birthday occurred in 1921 the tributes to it and its great editor from all countries and all parties were such that it would be necessary to go back to the death of Gladstone to find anything more fervent. That the paper should have survived all the adverse weather into which it has deliberately run is due very largely to the sound timbering of the ship. All the time the *Guardian* was fighting for unpopular causes, it was becoming every day a better and better newspaper.

Mary might be an impractical idealist, but Martha was behind the scenes intent on the details of editorial management. Its doctrine might disagree with you violently, but there was nothing wrong with its news. Its leading article might be a nettle, but the cricket report and the book reviews were the dock growing from the same bed—and the market report was a thing without which Lancashire could hardly draw breath. And then there was its pronounced literary flavour. It had a school of writers to whose work *Guardian* devotees turned —and still turn—with appetite and zest. It had Montague !

MANCHESTER AND ART.

THERE is some subtle suggestion of opposition in this title. Manchester, in itself one of the most distinguished names a British city could possess and of a fine-sounding Roman quality, has certainly not attained a reputation for beauty whether of art or nature. Yet it is very sensitive on this point, and seriously seeks (perhaps too seriously) to give art its relative place in the vast complex of interests engaging her everyday life. Indeed, the "and" of the title all too readily wears the aspect of a tight-rope stretching from a factory chimney to some glittering fane (not the gilt spiky ball on the Town Hall Tower —something far beyond that) along which the unwary critic may periclitate over maddening chasms of economics, politics, morals, and the practical questions of civic government, roaring canyons of warehouses, clustering slums, like the frenzied medley of some gigantic fair. If he keeps his eyes well ahead, he will reach his goal, leaving Manchester behind. But if he is human, a Manchester man, he will find it difficult not to look down into the din and distraction below, and realize that there is a gigantic manifestation of teeming life which is the ground from which all art has sprung and which art must enrich in turn if it is to prosper again. As a Manchester man he will of course be able to console himself with the fact that Manchester is really no worse in this matter of art than any other great municipality of her magnitude,

indeed considerably better than many. For it is doubtful whether the proportion of bad or ugly things is any greater here than anywhere else. Still that is no meet argument for a municipality which proudly styles itself "the third city in the Empire," and Manchester is so prominent in many other fields that you naturally expect her to be equally rich and patrician in art. There is no reason why a city which prides herself on the forwardness of her politics and commerce should not want to be equally progressive as regards those æsthetic values which are essential to the full spiritual life of her inhabitants.

The truth of the matter is that the whole of our civilization is only just emerging from a period in which these æsthetic values were either misunderstood, or disregarded, or deliberately thrust aside in the pursuit of something more easily tangible and material. Manchester is essentially a development of the industrial and scientific nineteenth century, to the extraordinary released energy of which she owes her wealth and power. Now the concentration on the pursuit of these latter meant hard work, and once they were acquired it apparently means even harder work to keep them. This led inevitably to a shortage of leisure, except for the most active minds, and the little leisure at hand was needed either to repair exhaustion or else to indulge pleasures as violent as the labours had been. After all, if the exigencies of existence in Manchester meant that

> The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers,

when are people going to find time for the exercise of those faculties which all works of art demand? The natural

escape from the meek sooty shrubberies of suburbia or those monotonous brick streets where the sky lies like a pallid pane of glass from roof to roof would seem to be further afield and hardly in the knee-sapping atmosphere of the average gallery. As Mr. Santayana says: "The constant demands of the heart and the belly can allow man only an incidental indulgence in the pleasures of the eye and the understanding." For the contemplation of works of art with an understanding eye is no easy task. Ten minutes is no time for any picture worthy of the name. Ten months or even years are needed to explore its values to any degree of intimacy. For a quicker stimulus, and a more social one, there are the music-hall, the cinema, the drama, and so back to work next day refreshed to some impermanent extent. But as regards the plastic arts, it was thought they, divorced as they were from actual life, could be segregated in galleries, as in so many rabbit-hutches along the walls, awaiting the desultory interest of chance visitor. All that is changing now. Art is slowly being reintegrated in our public life, and it is being realized that the pursuit of its real values is as strenuous and as exhilarating an exercise as that of making money.

It must be admitted that Manchester has continually done its best for art, as much as could be expected in those days from a public body struggling with the systematization of the sanitary and moral welfare of the public under its charge. The usual provision was made for art, in the matter of public galleries, the art schools and such. Some of its citizens who had amassed great fortunes in the hideousness and squalor of the City left it unimproved: they went south, and as the Psalmist says, their works followed them not. But these persons count for little beside the great number of those others

who have constantly striven to endow the City with a great tradition and possessions that will bring it distinction and renown in the eyes of the world. It is also quite conceivable that these people did their best as regards the plastic arts, though there is little doubt that others, particularly music, came first. Unfortunately the art of the day in painting and in sculpture was so poor, so uninspired, and the general level of taste so degraded, that what the City acquired before the end of the last century has little or no æsthetic value to-day. How grateful we would have been for a few old masters, possibly picked up by chance and given to the gallery before their prices began to soar so high ! But no, so much of what was bought represented the dull, mediocre, uninspired level of the average academic type, and incidentally the development of public galleries actually led to the production of thousands of canvases which were simply manufactured (there is no other word for it) for this new uncritical market. So, what with the prevailing supply and demand, it was inevitable that art should suffer at the hands of the municipality in much the same way as nature loses a great deal of her naturalness when encaged in one of our town parks.

There is a story told about a certain high dignitary of Manchester who was showing some distinguished visitor round the Art Gallery. Things were not going too well, until they came to the room with the big Lord Leighton canvas. The C.H.D. strode up to it with refreshed conviction, saying : " Now, 'ere, my lord, we 'ave something that will appeal to you. The captive Andromaitch, and (turning to the official in attendance) correct me if I'm wrong, Mr. ——, all 'and-painted,—'and-painted." Indicative as this story is of the prevailing criterion of the day, it is even

more significant as revealing the innate reverence for the miracle of something achieved by human hand still paramount in a community which owes all its wealth and power and its engrossing problems to the success of the products of its machines. Whatever his hand might do, this man's heart was in the right place, and he had his Ruskinian cliché firmly planted there. Only he was so out-of-date. He had forgotten that art is really a very live thing and was going ahead even faster than his old business organization and invention. Of course, the interaction of influences between machinery and the manual arts during the nineteenth century was of a most complex character ; it can be seen even in the effects on painting of the amazing development of the camera. But, in the case of the story above, one of the prime mistakes was to attach such importance to its being hand-made, that all other, and the real, æsthetic considerations were passed over. On the other hand, the machine created a demand for "finish," for a spurious appearance of surface completeness, while really the miracle was that the hand could turn out an article which had that easy finish attributed to the machine. The worst feature of the machine-made era was certainly the rise to power of the class who made their fortunes therein, for they had no sense for a work of art, perhaps financially worthless, but of a beauty which gave it a singular value. They insisted on their full money's worth, and naturally refused to buy what was good for them, but only that which they considered good, in other words showy, vulgar, and pandering to their uninspired taste. Among other things it meant the complete neglect of local art, for these people went to London for their fashion and there got little but what was considered adequate for the provinces. When the fashion

happened to be the Pre-Raphaelite, then something good might have been, and was, secured, but even then the total lack of discrimination is evident in the purchase of two canvases by the same gifted painter, which are actually poles apart in æsthetic values, "Autumn Leaves" and the baby on the flood, by Millais. Mr. George Moore has given us a most inspiring picture of Manchester and Liverpool furiously competing for the worst picture of the year.

The general results of all the foregoing are to be seen clearly enough in the streets of Manchester. After all, by their streets should the æsthetic sense of the inhabitants be judged. Man can turn aside from the galleries as from the desert places, but by the public highways he is bound to pass. The stranger within the gates of Manchester will be sorely troubled. Even the disposition of those monuments it has erected will perplex him, provided he has an eye for balance and design. There he is bound to notice a strange fondness in Manchester for stringing out its statues in a long line, particularly when it can over-emphasize the length of a rectangular space. Albert Square, for instance, has been most successfully converted into two parallel streets by the setting of its statuary, thus losing much of the dignity of its name. Piccadilly is still in the throes of re-birth, and it is to be hoped that when it does get its new art gallery some more successful re-orientation of its sculpture will be made inevitable. The bulk of Manchester's statues are of course purely political in origin, so many guttering link-torches in her history. The stranger is suitably sobered on arrival by the exasperation of dour Oliver Cromwell near the Cathedral, but once he has passed the heart of the City he can be cheered on his way by the urbane wave of Mr. Gladstone's hand point-

ing to the Central Station as an immediate escape. Peel and Wellington (you can tell the latter by his nose) give a certain lift and poise to Piccadilly with their shiny black pinnacles, but the terrible facility of the figures round their plinths repel all æsthetic consideration and, like the Queen Victoria block, merely arouse impatience at having to walk round them. Set back from the main line, however, are two statues of much grace and harmony of form, particularly that of Dalton, which combines a truly classic quality with an elegance that makes it a valuable possession, an oasis in the wilderness.

The central sculptural features of the City are not much more than provincial editions of London memorials, and have little justification æsthetically. The gigantic Queen Victoria, for instance, displeases by its shape, that of a half-pyramid. The preposterous realism of this overladen bronze, which offers no point of rest in all its gargantuan detail, is set in blackening benignity in a dingy white marble throne remarkably ill-suited either to it or the effects of Manchester's atmosphere. The Albert Memorial is a shabby version of the resplendent London structure, with little to commend it save that it serves vaguely as a key to the Gothic aspirations of the square. Yet even when H.M. the King's ready approval had been acquired for its deposition, the objections of some Man in the Street were enough to ensure its staying there. And then the Cenotaph, if it is possible to disengage it for one moment from the ennobling spiritual associations, the generous endeavour, the sacrifice, the grief it must represent to all minds ! Shorn of that, which is necessarily our own contribution, it emerges as a vulgarized adaptation of London's unique and single-minded monument. The additions that have been made are all either concessions to a

realistic bias,—the wreaths and crowns, the figure on the top,—or like the squat obelisks with their poor carving involve it in a complexity and confusion like to that of its puzzling inscription ; all detract from the simplicity of the symbolism inherent in this exalted altar, which should rise like a supple slender flame worthy of the undying memory it is to perpetuate.

There is, however, at least one statue in Manchester which is unique and worth a long tram-ride to see. It is that of Abraham Lincoln in Platt Fields, one of the finest portrait statues of the frock-coat era in existence. Its remarkable quality is due to the singularly successful marriage of the medium, as cut by the artist, with the character of the subject which is expressed in one magnificent rhythm inspiring the whole. Behind these formal clothes you feel the gaunt knotty strength of that bony frame holding the massive sculptural head. It is believed that it was these uncreased trousers which prevented London, to whom it was first offered, from accepting it. But Manchester had the nous to seize its chance. Only, when it has got such an acquisition, it proceeds literally to dump it into a bed of smutty rhododendrons, all soft, fuzzy and antithetic to the solidity of the mass above, and in front of a little domestic mansion, which with all its fine features, cannot do justice to the scale of the statue. Public opinion does not seem to concern itself with these things in Manchester. It is possible that it has no sense of æsthetic values, or they are inarticulate. It is difficult to test this, particularly when there are no common meeting-grounds where these matters can be discussed. That made public opinion in Athens, and the cafés of Paris serve the same purpose to-day ; but in Manchester there is little to be done save to be lectured

at during the winter months, and that is a docile business at best. Perhaps people are so busy getting on with their job that they are ready to leave these things to the mandarins in charge. Or again perhaps it is our climate which forces us indoors and to leave the streets to the trams to take care of. In which case we must turn to the galleries.

The Manchester City Art Gallery has been in existence as a collection of pictures about one hundred years, and if you look at it in that light it cannot be said to have made much use of its time. All that has been said above applies here in full force, but there is no doubt that the committee system of control is to be blamed most for the general dull level of work on view. If you can choose your benefactors, all is well. For the great public art collections have all been made by generous benefaction and a wise handling of those gifts. After all, art collecting just like any other, is essentially a one-man business, calling for the insight, conviction, boldness, dash, and all the other individual qualities that make the successful collector. You must go your own way, following your own vision, and leave the fury, bewilderment, and ultimate revelation to the slower-moving minds of ordinary mortals. Now, a committee chosen from a municipal council cannot conceivably be composed of expert collectors, and also it is bound (and rightly so) to remain conscious of the fact that it is spending the ratepayers' money. So one word of caution from a member is enough to stampede the majority into a safety-first policy which is generally a strange amalgam of ideas of public good, utility values, and the ultimate material happiness of the average hypothetical ratepayer, none of which has anything to do with art, save to hamper and stifle it. It seems useless to point out that one of the few blessed things about this world is that

however old most of the accepted ideas are, there are always a few people doing things which the ordinary man has never seen before. For of course there is no formula that exhausts all the possibilities of an art or science, and no work of art that is worth anything at all can help being new. As Mr. I. A. Richards has put it :

"The arts are our storehouse of recorded values. They spring from and perpetuate hours in the lives of exceptional people, when their control and command of experience is at its highest, hours when the varying possibilities of existence are most clearly seen and the different activities which may arise are most exquisitely reconciled, hours when habitual narrowness of interests or confused bewilderment are replaced by an intricately wrought composure. Both in the genesis of a work of art, in the creative moment, and in its aspect as a vehicle of communication, reasons can be found for giving to the arts a very important place in the theory of Value."

But a committee, full of its material responsibilities, and also imagining that it has to stand for every work of art it acquires, will never be prepared to jump after these elusive values, but will prefer to stand and wait for the dull accredited representatives of academic and art-school standards to come along. It seems such a pity that a municipality, once it has a curator whom it knows it can trust, does not give him a free hand for say three years, and then let the public decide whether his policy has proved its worth. It might at least stimulate the public to something more than even a sporting interest.

It must be recorded that a great improvement has taken place in the Art Gallery of recent years, due to the administration of Mr. Haward and the hard work which his chairman has put into it. The collection in itself is by no means to be

treated lightly. It has some very choice examples of English painting from the eighteenth century to the present day, although it cannot be said to contain anything that is unique. But it is its atmosphere which is so pleasant and makes it unusual among municipal galleries, for it is here that the sensibility and scholarship of its curator has been able to find free scope. The same rare quality is also apparent in the smaller galleries which he has organized in the mansions of Heaton Park and Platt Hall. A curious feature of the gallery's policy is that it has no exhibitions of current art, the monopoly of that being held by the Manchester Academy of Fine Arts, an ancient institution, which has the right to show its work in the gallery and limits itself to the work of its members. However, Mr. Haward has managed to achieve several exhibitions of great distinction, unique outside London, such as the Iveagh and the Benson collections, the retrospective show of the New English Art Club, and he also secured the notable benefaction of the Rutherston Bequest, a very representative collection of contemporary work.

There is, however, some painting in the City's possession which can certainly claim to be unique,—the frescoes painted by Ford Madox Brown in the Town Hall. True, only two of them are frescoes in the technical sense, the rest being painted on canvas and stuck on to the wall, but they are magnificent examples not only of the painter's art, but of the grand manner of mural decoration. The story of their execution is well known. It shows that the acquisition of them was like that of the Lincoln statue, just a bit of a fluke.

Then the Whitworth Art Gallery is gradually assuming an importance which will make it as unique as anything of which the citizens of Manchester can boast, and this it also

owes to the energy and insight of its curator, Mr. Dudley Wallis, as much as to the able direction and public spirit of those gentlemen who share with him the onus of its administration. It has, of course, the advantage of being a private foundation, and of numbering on its Board of Governors most of the great art collectors of the vicinity, but unfortunately the War depreciated its endowment considerably, although there has been little lack of benefactors who have come forward to help it. Still this led to a great and important change in its policy, when the administration decided to concentrate on the collection of water-colour drawings of the English and foreign schools, dating from the fifteenth century to the present day. Quite recently, too, a large Print Room has been opened with the well-known Clough Collection of engravings as a nucleus. Altogether this gallery is making rapid strides to becoming the most notable collection of drawings and engravings in the country outside London, and is certainly one of the most hopeful prospects of æsthetic and historical values in Manchester to-day.

Hope there is, too, of course, in the new clubs that are springing up among the local intelligentsia, filled with a healthy spirit of youthful intolerance and impatience with the old-worn clichés of criticism and the accepted tradition. They are rightly seeking new expression more adequate to their present needs, coming to closer grips with problems that are not merely æsthetic, and breaking up fresh ground for a new generation. It is too early yet to judge them by their productions, but there is certainly plenty of fair promise.

As for the University, it has not yet been able to find either the time or the means to further the cause of art, except of course within certain limits in its admirable and successful

School of Architecture, which for some unfathomable reason is completely neglected by the City. Orientated towards the sciences and economics as the University is, its Faculty of Arts is only just coming into its own, and is finding ample scope for its powers in the dissemination of that scholarship and culture without which any enduring appreciation of the arts proper is inconceivable. The same valuable work is being carried on in its extra-mural department with its Workers' Educational courses, and of course a broader foundation is being laid down for its future by the curriculum of the schools, which now use the galleries widely in their more elementary stages. Clearly education, and more education is the only way of widening the horizon and extending the scope of the spiritual experiences of mankind, particularly when those latter have been dwarfed and crushed by generations of industrialism. That it can help art in this way is clear from the fact that you can only find expressed in painting, sculpture, or any other æsthetic medium that which you have yourself experienced. It cannot expect to create much, for great art is an incalculable thing, which appears unexpectedly, like those strange flowers of the Mexican desert, and an odder phenomenon still in this age of publicity, generally disappears again, unwept, unsung, before its existence has been wholly grasped. But if education can produce a coherent body of public opinion with a sure appreciation of good values, and a refusal to put up with indifferent or bad, then without doubt there are good days ahead for art in Manchester, and also much to be done in those days.

MUSIC IN MANCHESTER.

THE Manchester School in its heyday expressed itself with an uncompromising severity, not to say gloom, in its political philosophy and its drama. Miss Horniman's theatre held up the mirror to nature as it was known in this part of the world before the War; the Manchester theatre, so far as it was indigenous to the City, exhibited the economic man once nightly, drawn "in the round" by Monkhouse, Houghton, and Brighouse. But while the Gaiety Theatre was talking genuine Lancashire, Manchester's soul for music found expression in Wagner and Beethoven with Hans Richter to draw it out of an essential reticence. Sir Edward Elgar once spoke of Manchester as the centre of musical England; truth to say, the City has paid tribute to Saint Cecilia in language possessing the Teuton accent. No Manchester man has yet achieved in music what Houghton and the others achieved in the theatre. Perhaps it is impossible for the north of England really to live, move and have its being in music—that is, to project its attitude to life (and the getting and spending thereof) by means of an art so immaterial in its substance as music. A local psychology can give account of itself only through a local idiom; the Manchester School of drama was very much a matter of idiomatic speech. In music you cannot say "jannock" or "sithee," or shake a loose leg at Blackpool during the Wakes of Hindle. The language of music is international; musical

Manchester certainly first became famous beyond the county's borders exactly in so far as it was truer to Germany (or Palatine Road) than it was to Bury and Throstle's Nest.

The drama of the Manchester School, like the economics of the same culture, was of the soil. Houghton and Brighouse had been in the air for years ; the plays of these writers would have somehow got themselves written even if Houghton and Brighouse had never lived. Miss Horniman's theatre was not a strange plant grafted in the earth of Manchester ; here, again, we had a case of an inevitable flowering of Manchester's cultural activity. But great music was brought to the City by the Germans ; by an accident of commercial development men journeyed to Manchester to earn their livings, and they hailed from a country where getting and spending is as important a job as ever it was in Lancashire county, yet not to be pursued for twenty-four hours of every day, unless good music is at hand to keep fresh the mind of the "tired business man."

It is, of course, nothing to Manchester's discredit that she owes much of her renown in music to the habits and devotion of that pre-War German colony. Culture blows wherever it listeth, like a seed in the wind. It is good luck when the soil is not barren. And, in the beginning, Manchester did not discourage the Germans in their efforts to make the Hallé concerts and the Gentlemen's concerts a sort of "home from home."

The turning-point in Manchester's musical history was 1857. Until that year the place threatened to develop in the art much in the same way as other habitations of what the Germans are still fond of calling "the land without music." In 1828 and 1836 there were musical festivals held in

Manchester, Philistine to the backbone. Manchester narrowly escaped the fate of Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield, where for many years music was usually sickening for another oratorio. In 1857 Manchester held an Arts Treasures Exhibition; music was called in less for its own sake than as a celebration of the arts generally, and in honour of a Royal visit. The conductor of the music at this exhibition was none other than Charles Hallé, who arrived in Manchester, out of work from Paris, where in 1848 the Revolution had caused a slump in music. The orchestra and chorus formed for the exhibition were not disbanded; they were kept together for the inauguration, in the following year, of the Hallé concerts.

Until his death, some thirty-seven years later, Charles Hallé was the informing genius of "musical Manchester." His influence spread to all parts of the north of England. The orchestra bearing his name, and conducted by himself, became a national institution. He founded the Royal Manchester College of Music; better still, he gave birth to that tradition of culture in music which, to this day, continues to attract to the City the best brains in the art. But, in this our post-War period, we may well pause to ask a question: were a Charles Hallé to appear in Manchester now, or a Hans Richter, would Manchester not turn patriotically aside from them and decline their gifts? Hallé, Richter, Brodsky, Hecht, Speelmann, Willy Hess, de Jong, Carl Fuchs, Max Mayer, Isidor Cohn, Bauerkeller—all of these names (I give them with the saving clause "E. and O.E.") stand for the first pillars of the City's edifice of music. None of them is a name racy of Lancashire soil, but the county grew to know and honour them all. It was an age which actually believed in Free Trade in the arts as well as in the market-

place. A chancy thing, indeed, was the building up of Manchester's musical reputation.

Under the rule of Richter the Hallé concerts became stamped through and through with the classical symphonic mark ; not only did they command the support of musicians, but also, the unmusical were obliged week by week to attend the Free Trade Hall, using the arts, like the Pole ladies in "Sandra Belloni," as a means to scale society. Every Thursday evening, from October to March, Peter Street was beautiful with the polished magnificence of carriages—required at 9.45. From the rear of the great hall, the democracy could get a fair view of Richter's portentous back. By paying a shilling, the democracy had the privilege of standing on what was then known as the "Grid" ; it was a heating arrangement, but when the democracy found itself on the point of a heavy sweat, there came with the opening of doors behind them, a cool wind full of the refreshing East. Under Richter, the Hallé orchestra did not need to advertise itself as the "famous" Hallé orchestra ; the prestige of the band was taken for granted everywhere. In those years it was possible for a Manchester man, when travelling to Vienna on the Orient Express, to walk down the corridor of the train (just before the approach to the Arlberg Tunnel), and there it was possible, I say, for him to get into conversation with celebrated men who knew Mahler. And they would more often than not tell him, on hearing that he came from Manchester, that they knew the City not on the strength of its Ship Canal, its Royal Exchange, or even its county cricket ground, but solely by reason of the renown of the Hallé orchestra. Merely to look at Richter was to travel half-way to a proper understanding of what is meant by a symphonic culture in music.

He was very much himself a symphony of a man—firmly balanced, diverse but not discursive, strong yet with some warmth of human sweetness coming out of his strength.

Manchester, when Richter lived in it, knew the Schiller Club and the German Restaurant in the Midland Hotel. It knew little about French music, for Richter declared there was no French music—and Debussy then in his prime! But Richter was capable of superb magnanimities; he introduced Manchester to the works of Richard Strauss when Strauss was generally supposed to be the Mad Mullah of music. Richter did not like Strauss's music over-much himself; none the less he conducted the symphonic poems with genius; he did not inform the Manchester public that they could take it from him that the works were not worthy of their attention. The Harrison concerts at this date performed their useful services, though they were not a little provincial in character, and in the sort of dress clothes worn at them. And, of course, the Brand Lane concerts were always part of the musical soul of Manchester; they were founded by a man of rich Northern humour and shrewdness who knew a Kreisler when he heard one, never mind the expense. When the War came, crisis descended on musical Manchester. The Germans were driven underground, and the fate of the Hallé concerts hung in a terrible balance. But Manchester's genius for opportunism asserted itself once more. The Hallé concerts, as we have seen, came into being largely by the labours of a man not born in the City, but one whom the City had the sense to assimilate. In the War years, Manchester did nothing to discourage the energies of Sir Thomas Beecham when he placed them at the service of the City's music. Manchester rallied round him while he spent his genius on its concerts, and on the feat

of establishing in Quay Street such an annual season of opera as this country had never known before and may never know again. Moreover, in the same Quay Street—which resides in a dismal never-never land, half Salford, half Manchester —Sir Thomas actually started promenade concerts during the late summer, when football was beginning! At these promenade concerts the programmes were as notable as most programmes heard at the Hallé concerts nowadays. Those War-years saw Manchester's music go to a full flower of culture. Think of it: "Boris," "Otello," "Falstaff," "Tristan," "Figaro," all to be heard within a few weeks at Quay Street. And also the Hallé concerts, vital with Beecham's own poise and wide sensibility! And all the time, there was chamber music by Brodsky, Catterall, Edith Robinson, Mayer, Cohn, and Edward Isaacs. Yet of all these fine fruits the Beecham opera was the sweetest and most beloved up and down Lancashire. It would have required a bold (and a foolish) man in those years to come forward and tell Manchester that opera —"Tristan," "Figaro," "Falstaff" and "Louise"—was a stupid art-form, quite beneath the notice of real musicians. . . .

Sir Thomas Beecham, in his passion for Manchester's music, went near to embarrassing the City with plans for an Opera House to be built on the old Infirmary site. When at last he had to withdraw from Manchester's musical life, the City, with a proper Mancunian economic philosophy, agreed that he was a quite impracticable business man. His greatest folly, apparently, was not that he had lost money over music, but that the money had been his own.

At the present time the Hallé orchestra, under the enthusiastic leadership of Sir Hamilton Harty, appeals to a very large public. Sir Hamilton has leavened the old

symphonic lump. The democracy has now an amount of elbow room ; it no longer is confined to the "Grid" at the back of the hall. One may in this year of grace visit a Hallé concert in one's office suit and talk the accent of enthusiastic Lancashire. To the Brand Lane concerts comes every winter an imposing procession of vocalists, pianists, fiddlers. Now and again the magnificent chamber music tradition is honoured, mainly by the Catterall quartet. But, to say the truth, the soul of musical Manchester does not seem to be as intent upon salvation as it used to be. Not long ago Mr. Edward Isaacs was allowed to lose money on a season of chamber music given by the incomparable Lener quartet. The fees from broadcast music do much to keep the balance sheet of the Hallé concerts comforting in the eyes of the guarantors. The Hallé orchestra is not often able to afford more than one rehearsal weekly for its concerts ; at the Liverpool Philharmonic Concerts the orchestra is luckier—it can enjoy two rehearsals weekly. The City officials help music by a series of Municipal concerts, but the City officially takes a fee from the Hallé Concert Society every time the orchestra wishes, by an "extra" rehearsal in the Free Trade Hall, to maintain that reputation in instrumental skill and taste which, in places like Vienna, keeps the name of Manchester alive and desirable. Apart from the Hallé orchestra, there is little in Manchester's musical life nowadays to mark it off from the musical life of, say, Birmingham or Liverpool. The German domination has gone ; in its place there is plenty of musicianship and taste which seems, nevertheless, to miss that mould of form that denotes a real culture. In the old days it was Wagner and Beethoven in and out of season. To-day, the activity runs a freer course through the

various professional concert halls, though it is still a conservative course. Electicism, without severe discrimination, may not infrequently mean some damage to style and tradition. As Oscar Wilde once said, it is only the auctioneer who should appreciate all forms of art.

MANCHESTER AND THE DRAMA.

THE tale of Manchester's contribution to the drama is not all of it the thick sweet syrup with which we are in the habit of toasting each other on civic occasions ; there is the bitterness of wormwood in the cup. The Gaiety Repertory Theatre, our greatest single achievement, finally expired because Manchester was neither wise nor big enough to keep it alive. Apart from that failure, however, there is much in the story to excite a reasonable pride.

As a theatre town, Manchester is 150 years old. To the dismay of many of its citizens, who thought they could not be true Wesleyans without finding devils in theatres, the Theatre Royal was opened in 1775. It was occupied by a stock company which periodically borrowed the light of travelling stars for special rôles. Kemble, for instance, was here in 1777, and in the course of time, Manchester became recognized as the stage from which the ambitious should make their first bid for applause. Macready is dubiously said to have started here : Irving, and later, Forbes Robertson were certainly seen here before they faced a London audience. The habit has persisted ; we still get a good number of first nights here, even of such tickle things as a Cochrane revue. It is, of course, a high compliment to the Manchester man's dramatic sense : theatre managers were a century ahead of the politicians in

discovering that what Manchester thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow. Scoffers may say that these plays come to Manchester first because first nights are merely last rehearsals, and Manchester folks are foolish enough to pay for being experimented on. But the fact remains that when Manchester gets the chance, it teaches London whether to clap or to hiss. And from the middle of last century, our theatrical reputation has been high enough to earn many such chances. Manchester was particularly successful in the arid years between 1850 and 1880. The Prince's Theatre was rivalling the Royal in good works. All the contemporary dramatists were third and fourth raters ; but our producers rose above the poverty of the playmakers. Thrown back on the classics, they instituted revivals of Shakespeare which belong to history. John Knowles first of all, and Charles Calvert ; then, Louis Calvert and Mr. Flanagan ; these in their turn proved that King Edward's advice on another occasion—"Stick to Shakespeare, there's money in him"—was well founded. At least, there must have been money in him in the seventies and the eighties. To recruit the stage armies for his production of "Henry V.," in 1873, Charles Calvert could engage 170 walkers-on : three years before, £4,000 had been safely spent in mounting "Richard III." In 1881, Forbes Robertson played Romeo to full houses : and in the same year people fought for seats to see Irving as Shylock. These are facts which not only argue the soundness and the catholicity of Manchester taste : they show also, its particular aptitude for recognizing fine acting. Foreign artists, even in foreign plays or with imperfect English, have always been eagerly welcomed. The applause which delighted the Polish actress, Madame Modjeska, in 1881, was echoed when Coquelin came as Cyrano in 1899, and

persists in the greeting still given annually to the French players. Mr. Beerbohm Tree was not only complimenting Manchester, he was showing his own astuteness, when, in 1895, he arranged that a play for which all England was agog, the famous "Trilby," should make its first English appearance at Manchester.

Obviously then, Manchester would be expected to play its part in the renaissance of the drama which one dates from about 1890, from the time, that is, when Ibsen began seriously to invade the European theatre. He gave a Sudermann and a Hauptmann to Germany, and a Bernard Shaw to England —which means that he gave new life and significance to the stage. In the very year (1894) when, at the Avenue Theatre in London, Miss Horniman made her first venture in the way of theatrical regeneration, Manchester had established its own Independent Theatre Committee for arranging short seasons of the new revolutionary drama. From 1894 to 1898 Ibsen and Shaw were to be seen at periodical productions in the Gentleman's concert hall. The experiment ended in 1898 with a performance of "Candida"; ten years later, "Candida" was to be a main pillar in a vaster enterprise, the Gaiety Theatre.

The playhouse called the Gaiety had had a chequered career, sometimes a home of variety, sometimes of regular drama, and, for a time, even a circus. Miss Horniman bought it in 1908 to house a repertory company which had been founded in Manchester at her instigation six months before. The company, first called The Playgoers Theatre Company, led by a Manchester man, Iden Payne, included a body of actors amongst whom were Mona Limerick, Charles Bibby (also a Mancunian), Basil Dean, and Lewis Casson. They

were to settle in Manchester and play in the theatre at the Midland Hotel. In their first winter, they presented plays by Rostand, Shaw, Maeterlinck, and St. John Hankin, as well as by less famous authors, such as Charles McEvoy, whom they were intent to discover. But their real history starts with their transfer to the Gaiety in the spring of 1908.

Miss Horniman was not only trying to do in Manchester what Vedrenne and Barker had attempted at the Court Theatre in London from 1904 to 1907. Their plan was to revive the theatre by adopting the repertory system so that quick and regular changes of programme would give scope and incentive to new authors, and would prepare for them an audience instructed in the most important developments of contemporary drama. That of course was part and a main part of Miss Horniman's object in Manchester. But an earlier episode in her theatrical life had given a fresh direction to her Manchester scheme. When the Avenue Theatre failed her in 1894, that is, if failure is the proper word for a venture which brought "Arms and the Man" into permanent popularity, Miss Horniman turned to the Irish Players and helped them to establish the Abbey Theatre in Dublin. One may well believe that this Celtic movement was so much given to making poetic romance out of shadowy myth that it has contributed nothing but the plays of Synge to the lasting stock of great drama: it did, however, indicate the wide possibilities of a drama which should spring from locality, rooted in local customs and beliefs, and expressed in the racy idiom of its own soil. The Repertory Theatre in Manchester took over the aims of the Court Theatre, and added to them the particular purpose of fomenting a Lancashire school of dramatists.

The economics of Miss Horniman's undertaking, and its domestic administration, are matters of professional and technical, rather than of general, interest. In due course, all England had seen her players, London was having them for annual visits, and twice they toured Canada and the States. They were actors drawn from the best schools, who had been attracted to Manchester because to those for whom acting was a dedication as well as a profession, Manchester afforded unique opportunity. They presented plays of all types, from the lightest farce to the gloomiest tragedy, requiring only that what they performed should be good of its kind. In later years, a legend arose that Gaiety plays were mainly depressing and often morbid : but the jest was so harmless that a Gaiety author, Stanley Houghton, dared to use it for adding to the fun of a Gaiety play. Laughter was just as much in their bill as were tears ; and in fact in the full list of their productions there are far more comedies than tragedies. If the serious plays happened to be more moving than the funny ones, Miss Horniman can scarcely be blamed for what is merely the dispensation of providence ; nor is it her fault if an audience has dined so well that all it asks is the tickling that aids digestion. A dramatist need not confine his stock to bismuthated magnesia.

A foretaste of what Manchester could look for was given in the first winter session from August, 1908, to May, 1909. Shaw is missing, but his "Widowers' Houses" and his "Candida" were already in the company's repertory. From his distinguished English contemporaries, there were such as Galsworthy's "Silver Box," Hankin's "The Charity that began at Home," and Masefield's "Nan." The Continent provided Sudermann's "Vale of Content" and Schnitzler's "Farewell

Supper," whilst the ancient world supplied the "Hippolytus" of Euripides. The Gaiety's first protégé, Charles McEvoy, contributed "When the Devil was Ill" and the "Three Barrows," without as yet proving that his genius had been overrated. Mr. Garnett's "The Feud" had its first performance, and the Christmas season was devoted in the afternoons to "Alice in Wonderland" and in the evenings to "The Knight of the Burning Pestle"—for Miss Horniman's reforming zeal took in even the pantomime; the better parts of it she converted into charming shows for children, and for its adult inanities she substituted picturesque burlesque or light costume pieces and a feast of wit and frolic. But the most striking feature of this first season is the large number of plays, especially curtain-raisers, in which local dramatists were making their first bow. H. M. Richardson and M. A. Arabian are, with Miss Robins, Basil Dean, and Iden Payne, amongst the writers of these shorter plays; J. S. Martin appears as author of a full comedy, "Cupid and the Styx"; but the most important names which emerge are those of Stanley Houghton, Harold Brighouse, and Allan Monkhouse. "The Dear Departed," "The Doorway," and "Reaping the Whirlwind" were the first pledges of the Manchester School. In the same winter, during the absence of Miss Horniman's Company, we had on the Gaiety stage, Lily Brayton and Oscar Asche in the "Taming of the Shrew" and "Othello," the Moody Manners Opera, the Irish Players, and Leigh Lovel's Company in an Ibsen repertoire which included "Love's Comedy" in a translation made by a distinguished Manchester citizen, Professor C. H. Herford.

The programme for the winter of 1908-1909 has been given, not because it was exceptionally rich, but because it

is a fair sample of the good things which Miss Horniman regularly offered. To live in Manchester from 1908-1914 was to feel oneself -and perhaps to feel oneself a little too self-consciously—in the very workshop of the new drama. Every season brought its fresh treats, sometimes even a Shaw or a Galsworthy for the first time on any stage. By March, 1913, the company had provided 91 plays of which 57 were strictly new ones ; by December, 1916, 203 plays had been presented and 111 of them were new to the stage. But the War greatly added to the difficulties in Miss Horniman's way, and though she held her ground throughout its course, maintaining Gaiety principles under growing financial constraint, it was really the beginning of the end. In 1921, she confessed herself beaten, and attempts to finance the theatre on a private civic basis having failed, the Gaiety passed into the darkness of a picture house.

But it would hardly be just to say that Miss Horniman had failed to establish a permanent repertory theatre. The Gaiety is gone, but enterprises inspired by her in Liverpool and Birmingham still flourish. Miss Horniman's achievement must also be measured by the producers whom she shaped, Mr. Dean, Mr. Payne, Mr. Casson, and Mr. Percy ; by the actors whose genius she nursed, and if she had done nothing but make a Sybil Thorndyke, it would have been no small return for her endeavour ; and lastly, by the Lancashire dramatists created by her encouragement. Their names are many : sometimes, as in February, 1910, she staged a triple bill of local plays—Martin's "Purse of Gold," Judge Parry's "Tallyman," and Arabian's "Trespassers will be Prosecuted." From the group of them, Mr. Brighouse and Mr. Cannan may yet give cause for enrolment on the list of our greater

playwrights, but Stanley Houghton and Mr. Monkhouse are already there. "The Younger Generation" is Lancashire humour of which something is universal comedy : but the first act of "Hindle Wakes" is full of the industrial north and of the permanent elements of human personality at large. Mr. Monkhouse's "Mary Broome" may have nothing in it so absolutely dramatic as this one scene, but as a finished play, in the economy of its power and in a humour which is lambent or consuming as if by mere natural circumstance, it is a characteristic production of the Manchester School. For a rival to it in dramatic worth, one must turn to another of Mr. Monkhouse's plays, "The Conquering Hero," one of the most moving dramas in the War's aftermath. There is the virtue of the Manchester commodity in this Manchester School of drama ; it can be serviceable plain grey cloth or it can go off as gun-cotton ; and it is as good as there is anywhere for either purpose. It can suit with a merry or with a sombre occasion, though its more recent tendencies to flippancy have so perturbed its founder, Mr. Monkhouse, that he has been driven, so they say, to disclaim all paternal responsibility. Indeed, unless report be a liar, he has gone so far as to deny the existence of a Manchester School, doubtless for the reason that when Salford is depicted on the stage as entirely given over to levity, he feels that local dramatists have sold their birthright for a mere guffaw, and have resigned their native gift, a propensity for recognising truth most unerringly under a dull grey cloud.

Only a word or two is now possible on the other dramatic institutions of Manchester. The Rusholme Theatre, less favourably situated than the Gaiety in more than locality, is keeping the repertory movement vigorously alive in our midst.

The Unnamed Society is indirectly exercising a salutary influence on the host of amateur associations in our province. Setting before them the true amateur function of bold innovation and experiment, they are a standing reproach to the many societies which exist merely to let a little group of frivolous people please themselves by displaying their virtuosity at the expense of their neighbours. They have made producing a fine art; and, not content with producing plays, they have produced two playwrights from amongst themselves.

WHAT CHEMISTRY HAS MEANT TO INDUSTRY IN MANCHESTER.

THE application of chemical science to industrial processes is now so general that it can be conceded without argument that all present-day industry is in a substantial degree dependent upon it. In order to set some bounds upon what may in a more particular sense be described as the Chemical Industry it has been defined as embracing those industrial activities concerned with the preparation of products from raw materials by the process or means of chemical change. The part played by chemistry in Manchester's industrial development necessitates an almost invidious selection of certain general effects and particularizing them by attaching a local label to them.

So generally is the commonplace accepted that chemistry is the handmaid of industry that it is difficult to realize that such application is a thing of comparatively recent date, and that one hundred and fifty years ago chemical knowledge was not far removed from the conditions which surrounded the search for the philosopher's stone, and that the nineteenth century had almost begun before the composition of water was definitely established. Thereafter there followed the revolutionizing quantitative theory of Dalton respecting the constitution of matter. On October 23rd, 1803, at 36 George Street, the house of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical

Society, Dalton introduced his discovery as an addendum to a paper on the solubility of gases in water and other liquids, and he accompanied this preliminary announcement with the first list of atomic weights, a list which he described as "the relative weights of the ultimate particles of bodies" so far as he had then determined them. Dalton had made chemical reactions measurable and definite, and upon this fixed basis the whole structure of present-day chemistry, both theoretical and industrial, has been erected.

Prior to the time of Dalton we have little, if any, knowledge of chemical manufacture in the Manchester district, but the beginning of the industry in the early part of the last century was undoubtedly influenced by the school of chemistry and physics which he established in the house in which he worked and where his epoch-making theory was announced. The building is still the home of the Society to whom Dalton spoke, and holds amongst its treasures the simple apparatus which he used and the original records of his many-sided work.

The existence of the cotton industry in and about Manchester naturally affected the form of chemical manufacture which was first established in the district, and though there is no evidence of Dalton himself having been concerned in chemical manufacture many of his associates and pupils were engaged in chemical industries.

The well-known calico printer Thomas Hoyle, who produced the famous "Hoyle's purples," may well have been helped in the production of these by his scientifically-minded friend Dalton. It is more certain that the Henry family, whose business as the manufacturers of "Henry's Magnesia" is still carried on, were closely associated with Dalton in

their work. To Dr. William Henry, a member of this family, we owe the invention of aerated waters,—and the firm with which he was associated carries on the business in the City to-day.

Another famous pupil of Dalton was John Dale, best known in connection with his firm, Roberts, Dale & Co., whose products were essentially those used in the textile industries of the district, and who were amongst the earliest of the local manufacturers of the so-called coal-tar dyes. Still another firm of this period, Tennant, Clow & Co., producers of dyeing and printing accessories, were noted as having introduced the manufacture of red prussiate of potash to the district. There are few makers of ferrocyanides in the world to-day, but it is not without interest that these salts are still made within the City boundaries.

Of the businesses of this kind established in the neighbourhood (and they were numerous) some continue ; many, on the other hand, have gone or have been absorbed in concerns elsewhere, but under the stimulation of Manchester's needs they had, in their beginnings, laid the foundation of much of the British chemical industry of to-day.

It is a noticeable feature of chemical manufacture that the waste products of one industry may well be the raw materials of another. The coal-tar industry is an outstanding example of this. Coal gas was first used as an illuminant in this country, and as its use developed, the disposal of the large quantities of tar produced by the gasworks in populous areas became a serious problem, although it could be disposed of by being burnt. Manchester has always been prominent in the recovery of the many valuable constituents of the bye-products. The work of Crace Calvert, Lowe, and Hardman will

always be associated with the preparation of pure products, and particularly of carbolic acid from coal-tar ; indeed Lowe's firm for long enjoyed almost a monopoly in the manufacture of pure carbolic acid crystals. Some of the tar-distilling businesses, begun in those early days, still live with us, but so much have their bounds increased that their early founders, could they but learn of them, would stand amazed at the variety of their products and the purity in which they are produced.

It is an easy transfer of thought from the industrial isolation of the pure constituents of coal-tar to their utilization in the manufacture of the great number of dyes and pharmaceutical products with which the title "coal-tar" has been associated. So familiar are we to-day with these products that it is difficult to realize that in the middle of the last century the colours used in the dyeing and printing of textiles were wholly of natural origin, and that Perkin's practically accidental discovery of mauve was made so recently as 1857. Following immediately upon this, haphazard investigation gave way to ordered research, and development was amazingly rapid. Perkin's discovery was a spark which produced a conflagration ; and the manufacture of dyes became an established industry in many countries.

In this important branch of chemical manufacture Manchester was early in the field, and the first coal-tar dye was but ten years old when Ivan Levinstein, attracted by the natural advantages of a location in Manchester, erected his factory on the northern side of the City and, along with others in Manchester, London, Huddersfield and elsewhere, carried on the manufacture of synthetic dyes in the face of competition from abroad which was probably keener than that which

any other industry has encountered. It would be but repeating an oft-told tale to speak of the waxing and waning and rising again of this branch of our chemical industry, but throughout the years of these vicissitudes Manchester has continued to be an important centre of the manufacture of synthetic dyes and their intermediates. The fruits of the labour of these pioneers are now being gathered. The well-ordered businesses which have grown up from comparatively small beginnings are a not unworthy harvest from seed sown with much labour and cultivated assiduously through extended periods of difficulty and depression.

Because of the particular conditions surrounding its operation, the alkali industry has never been located to any great extent in the immediate environs of Manchester, although some forty to fifty years ago the Leblanc soda process was operated on the north side of the City. The great centres of the heavy chemical industry have been Widnes and St. Helens, where the Leblanc process was operated, and later at Northwich and elsewhere in Cheshire where, in the midst of the salt fields, the noted ammonia-soda works have been erected. Although these great aggregations of factories concerned with the manufacture of heavy chemicals have been brought about for other reasons than proximity to such large users as are to be found in and around the City, it has been of no little service to the many and varied industries of Manchester that they have been able to secure their necessary supplies for so many years, if not at, certainly in close proximity to their factory doors. What has been said concerning the alkali industry does not apply so fully to acid manufacture, as many plants for the production of sulphuric and other acids have been erected (and some are still operating) within a short distance of the centre of the City.

As has been already said the existence of the Lancashire cotton industry had a direct influence upon the character of the chemical manufacture of the district. This influence, however, with one outstanding exception, and that a strangely fruitful one, exhibited itself in the production of bleaching, dyeing, printing, and finishing accessories ; and all of these were without effect, otherwise than mechanically, upon the fibre itself. About 1850 John Mercer published his work on the behaviour of the cotton fibre when treated with concentrated solutions of caustic alkalies. The time was not yet ripe for the practical utilization of Mercer's work, and it was not until more than thirty years had passed that its re-investigation by Lowe was followed by the production on an ever-growing scale of fabrics having the characteristic silky lustre, and in many cases the increased strength, of "mercerized" goods. The adoption of this title is a proper recognition of the work of one who was a very early worker in that most difficult field of research, the chemistry of cellulose.

Coincident with and continuing after the disclosure of Mercer's reaction, the investigation of the nitrocellulose showed clearly the possibility of causing the cellulose molecule to take part in ordinary chemical reactions. Since then the investigation of the chemistry of cellulose has been steadily pursued, and to-day the outcome of the patient work in many laboratories is to be found in the numerous factories and mills throughout the country producing that wonderful material we know as artificial silk and also other forms of modified cellulose. A new material for the textile mills to handle has been supplied by the chemist, and it may well be that before many years have passed Manchester will be prepared to acknowledge that it is indebted, much more than even to-day it is glad

to admit, to the work of Mercer and his many worthy successors.

Much more could be written of the part that the science of chemistry has played in the development of other important contributions to the trade of Manchester, of its place in aiding the growth and perfecting of the rubber and brewing industries, and of its share in the development of great electrical and engineering establishments. In no lesser degree also could one speak of its control of the great civic supplies which are of immediate concern to the citizens in general, of the gas and water undertakings and in the baking of bread and many others. It must suffice to say, however, that its place as an essential need of human life, whether for man's well-being, his culture or in his industries, has been fully established.

Peculiarly interesting circumstances surround the annual meeting of the Society of Chemical Industry in Manchester, since the President-elect, Dr. Herbert Levinstein, is the son of a former President who was one of the pioneers of Manchester's chemical industry. It is surely apt to quote as a conclusion, words which Ivan Levinstein, as first chairman of the Manchester Section addressed to it so long ago as 1883 :—

" Manchester, as has been frequently pointed out, is an important chemical centre, many most extensive chemical manufactories being situated within a radius of less than twenty-five miles. We find in its neighbourhood large alkali, soap, acid and artificial manure works, extensive tar distilleries, aniline oil and coal-tar colour works, etc. Indeed nearly every branch of chemical manufacture is represented, and if we further take into consideration the numerous important cotton and other industries in which chemical knowledge plays such

an essential part such as printing, dyeing, sizing, bleaching, papermaking, etc., we may fairly say that Manchester above all is the very town where the establishment of a Section of our own Society was most desirable, and this was undoubtedly the opinion also of those who about nine months ago bestirred themselves so energetically for its formation."

MANCHESTER AND COTTON.

THERE are very many important trades centred in Manchester—Iron and Steel, Chemicals and Dyes, Rubber, etc.—but the predominant trading interest is of course in Cotton, and the well-being of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the populous district surrounding the City is dependent upon the healthy condition of this trade. Manchester is the nerve centre of the cotton industry, almost the whole of which is located within a radius of forty miles. It is the headquarters of the important trade organizations. This dominance of Manchester began to make itself evident more than a century and a half ago, and it is a matter for astonishment that the covering of a small seed, of an insignificant appearance, should have by undergoing various operations and processes been the means of raising the town, in the short space of about fifty years (1750-1800), to the rank of second only to London and in the last century to that of one of the greatest commercial cities in the world.

The positioning of the main portions of the industry in the district of East Lancashire has been attributed mainly to the moist climate which facilitates weaving, to the prevalence of good supplies of soft water so necessary to the finishing sections, particularly the bleaching and dyeing trades, which also can obtain, nearby, cheap and good supplies of common salt, and to its proximity to coal-fields.

In the early days of the industry the raw cotton was shipped to London and Liverpool, from which ports it was sent by road to this more suitable part of the country. Manchester was the centre where the larger number of manufacturers were situated, though a considerable proportion lived in the surrounding small towns and country districts. Transport was by means of pack horses, and later by canals. With the advent of railways the difficulties and delays of transport were of course considerably lessened. Even now, almost four-fifths of the American cotton is imported via Liverpool, although much of the Egyptian cotton is delivered direct to Manchester through the Ship Canal, which was opened thirty-five years ago after more than a decade of arduous toil and almost insuperable difficulties.

With the introduction of power machinery and the factory system, the cotton trade has been built up and developed in sections, all intensely specialized to a degree, which remarkable technical achievement has been extraordinary in its commercial efficiency. Leaving out of the tale the progress of the raw cotton from the grower to the Lancashire broker, it is particularly noticeable how frequent and tortuous is the handling of the cotton between the port of entry and its delivery to the user as finished or even as grey (the trade name for unbleached) cloth. So in very many cases the spinner, buying his raw material from the broker, sells his product to the yarn agent, whose customer is the manufacturer (weaver). The latter sells his cloth to the cloth merchant, who may have it bleached and dyed, or otherwise "finished," often by different firms for each process. For goods which are to be exported, still more links have to be added to the lengthening chain between the cotton broker and the cloth user, those of the packer

and shipper, whose functions are but seldom combined in one firm.

Most of the bartering between these sections of the industry is carried out in the Manchester Royal Exchange, and this market is the best index of the world demand for cotton goods. The first building in the nature of an exchange was erected just 200 years ago. In 1790 this building was taken down and replaced in 1806 by another structure which almost immediately was found to be too small for its purpose and consequently had to be enlarged. The present Royal Exchange was reopened by the King and Queen in 1921 and the Great Hall is the largest room in the world used for commercial purposes. Its membership of about 11,000 includes spinners and manufacturers controlling some sixty million spindles and three-quarters of a million looms. There are also approximately 500 brokers, 1800 yarn agents, 120 yarn dyers, 300 waste dealers, 1800 cloth merchants, 200 bleachers, 120 calico printers, 250 dyers of piece goods, 150 finishers and over 1000 shippers. These, with the representatives of the textile machinists and of many foreign producers and merchants, unite with the denizens of the numerous massive and lugubrious looking warehouses of the City to cause that mid-day overcrowding of the centre which is such a peculiar and inconvenient characteristic of Manchester on market days. Thus some representatives of the commercial side of the industry are continually travelling between the City and different parts of the surrounding district where a particular section of the trade is located, its development being due to the stimulus of a specialized competition. The result of this localization and the existing system of merchanting almost wholly carried out in Manchester is that often the cotton in

different stages of manufacture travels into the City and out about the county a number of times before finally returning to the City for packing and shipping.

The intense competition and specialization in the various processes of manufacture, combined with family associations going back many generations are no doubt responsible for the unrivalled skill of Lancashire cotton operatives and the unsurpassed technical control and direction of the industry. This technical efficiency, more particularly in the printing sections, has gained for cotton a much higher position amongst textiles than it formerly enjoyed. In the modern generation of women whose clothes are so reduced not merely in area, but also in bulk, there is no longer that contempt for goods that are "only cotton" which was so much in evidence during the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Since the notable post-War boom, which came to an end early in 1921, and which was not an unmixed blessing, a wave of intense pessimism seems to have seized the more vocal members of the industry. The enforced stoppage of exports during the War years naturally resulted in a speeding up of production on the part of foreign competitors who were able firmly to entrench themselves, and the unavoidably high prices of the post-War years still further restricted our markets. The loss of trade is mainly in the coarser yarns and cloth, and the decrease in sales, in yardage, is as much as one-third of the pre-War figures. In 1928, however, the export of cotton goods still formed one-fifth of the total exports from Great Britain, the proportion in pre-War years having been one-fourth. In spite of losses, the export trade in cotton is nevertheless the largest of any commodity in the world. It has always exceeded that of any two combined of the iron and

steel, coal or wool trades, and it gives to Manchester, its nerve centre, an importance which cannot be over-rated, and which in fact her citizens have never been over-shy in proclaiming. The home trade accounts for almost 30 per cent. of the production of yarns and cloths, and of the export trade one-half goes to the Empire. The loss of trade has not been in fine goods, in which the technical skill of the finishing sections has been so pronounced that Lancashire not only continues to lead the world but steadily increases her lead.

Coincident with the recent pessimism, too loudly expressed, there has also of late been a good deal of introspection into the causes of bad trade, and an earnest seeking of a remedy for the loss of markets, particularly in the Far and Near East. The result seems to be that opinion has crystallized round three points. First, the small size of the units in the spinning and weaving sections prevents mass production of standard cloths and may not allow of the employment of sufficient expert or up-to-date knowledge and skill. The second appears to be the absence of bulk merchanting of such standard cloths, and the third is that over-capitalization during the immediate post-War boom is in many cases a contributory cause.

Rationalization—the organization of industry into as large aggregations as are compatible with the maximum of economy in costs of production—is put forward as a remedy.

Amalgamation is strongly advocated to the harassed sections who have as a lure the examples of the successful combinations of the Fine Cotton Spinners and the Finishing Trades. Whether such combinations should be horizontal and within one section of the industry or vertical and extending over two or more sections is a much debated question. The well-established combines are mainly horizontal in character, but there

are already a few successful vertical concerns, and some leaders of thought are in favour of the second system of amalgamation.

It has been shown how the Manchester trade has been built up and developed under the stimulus of intense competition within all sections of the industry. This specialization, which has probably been responsible more than any other factor for the establishment of an enormous world-wide trade, is also responsible for what is often to-day a very great handicap—the extraordinary ignorance, on the part of one section of the trade, of the processes of other sections. "Vertical" knowledge might, however, be achieved without vertical amalgamations, but both are almost foreign to the customs of the trade.

The growth during recent years of the new artificial silk industry was at one time regarded by cotton manufacturers as a serious menace to their trade, and the fear has often been expressed that the introduction of artificial silks would lessen the demand for cotton goods. This fear, however, seems to be groundless, more especially as regards finer cloths. The demand for "union" goods, in which cotton is used with artificial silk or even with real silk, is considerable, and provides another opportunity for bringing out the well-known skill and ingenuity of the Lancashire finisher. Artificial silk has much in common with cotton, and, instead of being a competitor, there is every reason to believe that the introduction of the new fibre will act as a stimulus to the older industry, and that improved methods of combination will be developed which will add to the importance of the trade of Manchester.

After a prolonged and unprecedented period of depression which has sorely tried the stability and endurance of the whole cotton industry, and more especially the spinning and weaving

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sections, signs are not lacking that Lancashire (and Manchester in particular) is fired with the determination to regain much of those parts of the trade which have been lost, to hold what she has, and by a progressive improvement in quality not only to increase the distance between her competitors in fields where she leads but to open up and capture new markets. This dogged spirit of optimism and endeavour, this refusal to recognize or admit defeat, are more characteristic of the City and county than the unreasoning and harmful pessimism of many writers in the Press. The cotton trade has faced and weathered many storms and difficulties, and by increased efficiency, improved organization and greater unity is determined to overcome this legacy of the War with which it has been, and still is, confronted. It is recognized that a portion of the trade in coarser goods may be gone beyond recall, and that in the future Lancashire may have to devote herself more particularly to the finer and more highly finished products in which she excels and in which she has never been successfully challenged.

The spirit of determination is illustrated by the support given by the trade and continued during the period of depression to three great co-operative efforts made by the industry, albeit with some assistance from the State. The far-sighted policy which led to the formation of the British Cotton Growing Association and the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation has already been justified, and is steadily, though slowly, tending to reduce the dependence of the industry on supplies of American cotton. With the help of these bodies new areas of cotton cultivation are being opened up, and varieties suitable to the needs of the Lancashire trade are being produced and marketed. The third great co-operative effort is in the field

of research, and it is this effort which perhaps offers more scope and more hope than anything previously attempted to a trade which must meet world-wide competition and must produce better and cheaper goods than its rivals if it is to survive.

In the southern-most part of Manchester, in secluded and pleasant surroundings, is situated the Shirley Institute, the research station of the British Cotton Industry Research Association, which was founded in 1919. This station comprises what is one of the largest and best-equipped monotechnical research laboratories in the world, and the organization which has been built up, developed and staffed during the past ten years is now second to none in its efficiency and possibilities. The buildings of the Shirley Institute include the house known as the Towers, which was the residence of the late Daniel Adamson. In the historic room, now used as a library for the research staff, took place the inaugural meeting of some prominent citizens who made the momentous decision to bring the sea to Manchester by the creation of the Ship Canal. The primary work of the Shirley Institute was the investigation of the fundamental scientific problems underlying the many and varied processes of a complicated industry, and an immense store of knowledge has been accumulated in a comparatively short time. A large number of the results obtained from this fundamental research have already proved capable of practical application, and are of increasing value, whilst the close co-operation between the scientists of the research station and the technologists of the industry is helping to bring to the trade that increase in efficiency and economy which should enable it successfully to meet competition from whatever source it comes. The Institute is also qualified to supply in many cases that

"vertical" knowledge already discussed, which the peculiar section-wise growth of the industry has left obscure.

Manchester and Cotton are almost synonymous words; the prosperity of the City—as well as the prosperity of the county and the country—depends upon the maintenance and the development of this great industry which it has made its own. Manchester cotton men in 1929, scoured free from the somewhat bombastic attitudes of the post-War boom period, stand firm in their determination that the City shall retain its dominant position in the cotton markets of the world.

MANCHESTER'S MERCHANTS.

It may be inaccurate to call the English a nation of shopkeepers, but one is on safer ground in calling Manchester a city of middlemen. To say this is not to ignore the aspects of Manchester's life other than the industrial and the commercial, or to belittle the extractive and productive trades of the district, and its transportation, banking, and insurance services. It is merely to give due prominence to the fact that buying and selling, rather than producing, is the main economic feature of Manchester's present activities, and that a large proportion of whatever prosperity the City enjoys, and of the culture and amenities which this prosperity permits and nourishes, has its origin in dealing in goods rather than in the making of them.

Time was when Manchester's activities were more definitely in the direction of manufacturing than they now are. The Lancashire cotton industry—the first in which the factory system developed—was founded in the neighbourhood of the City, but it soon spread further afield, and, by the time that Mosley Street was becoming a business thoroughfare, and the residential quarters of the City had begun their steady movement towards the south, the number of mills actually in the town had dwindled, and their place, like that of the old town houses, was being taken by warehouses. On the other hand, it is also true that, during the last thirty or forty years, in

which the Ship Canal has been completed, and the expansion of Trafford Park as an industrial centre has taken place, manufacturing has again grown in importance. Nevertheless, commerce rather than industry is Manchester's most prominent feature.

It achieves this prominence in a great many ways. Approaching Manchester from the east, west, or north one may see one's fill—and more than one's fill—of factories and mills, mines and engineering works, power stations and mill chimneys, pouring out the smoke which makes it so difficult to see the sun in Manchester, but in the City itself and its immediate neighbourhood there is little but offices and warehouses and shops. Big offices and warehouses, some of them occupying the whole of an imposing building; and little offices and warehouses, some of them crouching below the level of the streets, some of them hidden away in a corner of one of the larger buildings.

It is natural, of course, that Manchester, being the port and the pivot of such a large industrial area, should have a host of importers, exporters, merchants, agents, and middlemen. These, in the aggregate, reach a formidable number, including colliery agents and coal merchants, iron and steel merchants, chemical merchants, paper merchants, dealers in tallow and hides and oils, importers of raw cotton for Lancashire's mills, importers of produce and provision merchants, timber merchants; all buying and selling for the industries of the district, or distributing foodstuffs to the most thickly populated area in the world—the area within a 15-mile radius of the Cathedral—and beyond.

But, in Mosley Street or Portland Street or Whitworth Street are offices which seem to have no connection with raw

cotton or foodstuffs or the heavy trades. In the streets wagons and lorries are to be seen being loaded with big bolts of cloth, or with big bales and cases with stencilled lettering which spells the names of such places as Shanghai, Penang, Aden, Beyrout, or Buenos Aires. The bolts of cloth are perhaps of a dirty, yellowish colour—cotton cloth straight from the looms, going to be bleached or dyed or printed—or they may be gaily-patterned sarries that will charm the heart of an Indian peasant woman, or, perhaps, black sateens to make a Sunday coat for the middle-class Chinee. And the bales and cases are cotton goods, no longer in the charge of manufacturer or finisher, but starting out for a foreign market at the direction of a Manchester merchant.

This is the real Manchester merchant. Not every merchant who carries on business in Manchester is a "Manchester merchant"—the name is given only to those who ship cotton goods to Lancashire's foreign markets; those, that is to say, who are at the forefront of Manchester's business life.

It is said that if the Lancashire cotton industry were to go right out of existence Manchester would still be a great commercial city, the centre of a great industrial area—but it would no longer be the Manchester that the world knows, the Manchester of which the world thinks when it speaks of "Manchester goods." Other cities may have their banks and insurance offices and stock exchanges, and be surrounded with coal mines, engineering works, hat factories, locomotive works, rubber-garment factories, and motor works; other cities may have docks through which are imported oil and grain and timber and dairy produce, but Manchester is more than these. The export trade in cotton goods—the largest export trade of the Kingdom—is the mainspring of Manchester's commerce,

and Manchester without it would be unrecognizable, a city like any other, with all its own characteristics gone. Manchester without its merchants is unthinkable.

Who are they then, these Manchester merchants? What is their business? Where are they to be found? What has Manchester gained or lost through them? How have they become so great and so vital a part of Manchester's life?

The Manchester merchant is the link between the Lancashire cotton industry and the foreign consumer of cloth. He buys grey, unfinished cloth from the manufacturer or his agent, and ships it abroad, after having it bleached or dyed or printed, and finished or packed, and he finances the cloth until it has been sold to a foreign importer or dealer. This business, it will be realized, requires a thorough knowledge of cotton goods—including the kinds that are made and the kinds that could be made if they were wanted—a wide knowledge of the foreign markets for cloth—and of the foreign customers to whom credit may safely be allowed—and a certain amount of capital. The amount of capital employed by the different cotton goods merchants varies enormously; some merchants import cotton and other produce from the countries to which they ship cotton goods; some own or control cotton mills in Bombay or Shanghai as well as shipping cotton goods to those places; these as a rule have huge offices and warehouses in Manchester, and have capital enough to weather any depression; while others hire a room for an office and share a telephone with the other offices on the same floor, and a week's delay in payment by their chief customer will put them in financial straits. There are some whose names are synonymous with honest dealings in honest goods, and there are some who are merely one end of a long-firm fraud whose

other end is in Bagdad or Constantinople. These, fortunately, are few, and do not stay in Manchester very long.

Your Manchester merchant, then, may have a large or a small business, and, if he carries on his business for more than a year or two, you may take it that he is honest. But you must not assume that he comes of Manchester stock. The brass plates outside the offices of merchants bear some strange names. Some are English enough, some are Scotch, others are unmistakably German, and others smack of Greece and the Levant, while some suggest races and nationalities unheard-of before. It must be admitted that a very large proportion—perhaps the majority—of Manchester traders bear names that have an alien sound.

The Scots we have always with us, but when and why did the Germans come, and when and why came the traders—as traders have come from time immemorial—from the Levant? The answer to these questions must be sought in a study of the emergence of the present-day merchant from the older organization of the cotton trade.

Like most things connected with the Lancashire cotton industry, the merchant is of haphazard origin. In the early days of the trade chapmen used to buy yarn from spinners, hand it out to cottagers to be made into cloth on hand-looms, and then bring the cloth by pack-horse to Manchester, where it was sold in the market. With the development of the factory system and of the export trade in cotton cloth, the chapmen took a greater share in the financing of the trade, and they used to buy cloth, and have it finished—generally in their own finishing works—before it was sent abroad to India or China. These merchant-finishers generally prospered exceedingly. Lancashire had a monopoly of the world's export

trade in cotton goods, and the Far Eastern markets could absorb every yard of cloth that Lancashire could produce. Accordingly, dealers in the smaller markets, especially on the Continent, were compelled virtually to beg for every yard of cloth they wanted. These dealers, therefore, found it advisable to come to Manchester and set up in business here as exporters of cotton goods to their native countries, or else they established buying agencies here. This accounts for a great number of the German and other European business men who settled in Manchester in the second half of last century. The supply of cotton goods still fell short of the demand, and the agents, seeing that the merchant-finishers were making handsome profits, began to undertake merchanting on their own account, still continuing to buy as well on the instructions of their foreign principals. The result of this competition—which was beginning to be intensified owing to the influx into the trade of religious and political refugees from the Near East, who were, as ever, prepared to work on the smallest of margins—was that the agents tended to become merchants, and the merchant-finishers abandoned their finishing works, leaving the finishers to make what they could out of the new situation. In parenthesis it may be remarked that many of the finishers, with pressure from the manufacturers on one side, and pressure from the merchants on the other side, had difficulty in keeping their heads above water, and this gave the incentive to the formation of the three big finishing combines around the turn of the century.

Having watched the process of the merchant in the past we can better understand his present status and habits. Nowadays one might be pardoned for thinking that the heads of the more important merchanting concerns leave their

businesses to look after themselves, and spend most of their time at the Chamber of Commerce. The shipping merchants' committee of the Manchester Chamber is probably one of the most important bodies of its kind in the country, just as the Chamber itself is one of the most active and influential trade organizations. Chancellors of the Exchequer and Secretaries of the Board of Trade put on their best behaviour when approached by a deputation from the Manchester Chamber or from the shipping merchants' committee, and, often enough, they invite advice from those bodies.

At the Chamber, the merchant spends his time in such high matters as negotiating for a reduction of freight rates with the shipping conferences, or making representations against the raising of a tariff, as well as attending to such minor matters as arbitrations and trade marks. Latterly, too, the merchants at the Chamber, besides dealing with matters directly affecting their own immediate section of the cotton trade, have begun to hatch plans for the restoration of prosperity in the trade as a whole. It seems, indeed, that the merchants have a large part of the initiative in the cotton trade to-day, and are well on the way towards becoming the dominant section of it.

It was not always so. In the early days of the Manchester Royal Exchange, when no self-respecting buyer or seller would have dreamed of coming to business without his tall silk hat, and when the price of silver or the quotation of the rupee had a greater influence on the course of dealings than the price of cotton futures, it was the producer or his selling agent who had the whip hand. The rumour would go round the Exchange that such-and-such a manufacturer was prepared to sell, and merchants' buyers would anxiously wait to hear how much of this manufacturer's shirtings or sheetings

they would be allowed to have. Those were the palmy days of the spinner and manufacturer, when merchants did not quibble about prices so long as they could have the goods in time for the buying season in their foreign markets. But the boot is on the other leg now. The tall hat has gone from the Royal Exchange—it is only worn now by the representatives of one or two firms of yarn agents, who realize the psychological effect of its air of respectability—and it is the salesman who waits anxiously upon the buyer. When Mr. So-and-So has his bowler hat on the back of his head, Blackburn dhootie makers know that there are orders to be placed, and begin to calculate just how low a price they can afford to take in order to get looms gaited up again.

The Manchester Royal Exchange, standing right in the heart of the City, is probably the largest commodity market in the world, and has nearly eleven thousand members. These include representatives of all sections of the cotton trade, and of the textile machinery and mill-furnishing trades, while iron and steel traders congregate in their own corner of the floor, which has an area of some eight thousand square yards. It is an impressive sight, at about half-past two on a Tuesday or a Friday, when High 'Change is in progress, to stand in the visitors' gallery, and to survey the crowded floor, where, probably, seven or eight thousand traders are standing in their accustomed places or jostling their way through the sea of humanity to find a buyer or seller. There is no shouting such as the passer-by in Norfolk Street can sometimes hear issuing from the Stock Exchange, but the hum and buzz of hundreds of conversations, growing louder and deeper as business becomes more active. For the most part, the observer in the gallery sees little but the hats of the members—the few silk

hats showing up well, hundreds of bowlers, black, brown, or grey, and soft felt hats in all stages of dejection and sprightliness. But sometimes a face is lifted to look at the huge boards on the walls which record the transactions which are taking place in the cotton futures markets at Liverpool and New York, or at the smaller boards which announce the telephone numbers of those members for whom there are telephone calls.

Business can be arranged very quickly on the floor of the Exchange. The merchant passes on inquiries to the manufacturer, the manufacturer can buy yarn from the spinner, and the spinner, if he likes, by the simple expedient of taking a lift to the fourth floor, can visit the central selling rooms of the Manchester Cotton Association, and buy his cotton from the large and varied selection which can be shown to him there. Nevertheless, since the adoption of the telephone, a great deal of the business now done in cotton goods does not take place on the Exchange, but very few traders would care to give up their regular attendance on the boards, and even the most autocratic of merchants finds it advisable to put in an appearance for half an hour or so three or four days a week, in order to learn the latest market gossip, or to find out what his competitors are doing.

There are, perhaps, fewer cheerful faces on the Royal Exchange nowadays than there were twenty or thirty years ago, when it was difficult to avoid making profits out of cotton goods. But traders have lost none of their spirit or their shrewdness. The two main entrances to the Exchange are reached by imposing flights of stone steps, to which balustrades have just been added. Two honorary members of the Exchange, aged seventy-eight and eighty-one respectively—honorary membership is usually accorded to traders who have

been ordinary members for sixty years—were discussing the innovation the other day. The older one admitted that he found the handrails helpful in climbing up the steps. The younger one pooh-poohed the idea, saying that he could still climb steps without assistance, and asked why metal knobs had been put on the rails. The older one, now on his mettle, replied : "I suppose it's to keep youngsters like thee from sliding down 'em !"

MANCHESTER AND THE SEA.

It is not an idle boast that when Manchester sets its hand to a thing that thing gets done thoroughly.

This thoroughness has been very marked in the case of the Manchester Ship Canal. It was in 1882 that Daniel Adamson invited some men to dinner at his house in Didsbury. After dinner they discussed the question of making a canal from the sea to Manchester. That was forty-seven years ago. To-day you may see rising at the top of King Street in Manchester a building whose stripped austere lines irresistibly attract the eye. It is a building which looks as though it meant business, and it does mean business. In a very real sense you will be able for many years to come to take the temperature of Manchester's prosperity within the walls of that building. All that Manchester stands for, commercially and industrially, tends more and more to centre upon the Port ; and this building of which we are speaking is the new headquarters of the Ship Canal Company.

Only forty-seven years, then, separate that first talk about the canal from this splendid habitation of the multifarious activities that have arisen from it. Not often do men's dreams mature so quickly as this ; and it may not be unprofitable, in considering the story of these forty-seven years, to ask at the outset whether there was any reason for this unusually quick translation from the dream to the business.

Well, if you want to dream, it is not unwise to dream about something that a lot of people really want done. Adamson had the sense to do that. The fact which is basic to the success of the Manchester Ship Canal is simply this : it was necessary. The raw material of Manchester's trade had to come, and still has to come, half-way across the world. The product of the trade, no less, had, and has, to find its markets overseas. It was not likely that an industry of importance to the whole world would remain satisfied with anything less than direct contact with the whole world. That was what Daniel Adamson and those who worked with him sought to establish.

Put like that, it sounds delightfully simple : but the thing was terribly hard for those men who let in the sea to Manchester. The heart-breaking obstacles, at this distance of time, serve but to illuminate the story of their faith, their obstinate heroism in face of every imaginable difficulty. To them there must have been little enough of illumination. Their difficulties were three-fold. There was the sheer physical difficulty of taking the sea 35½ miles inland and raising it 60 feet. There was the difficulty of meeting the stubborn and wealthy opposition of vested interests and established rights. There was the difficulty of finding money to do these first two things.

But they went at it with a will. That famous dinner of 1882 was eaten in the summer ; already by December the first Ship Canal Bill was deposited in Parliament. The Commons passed it, but the Lords turned it down. The opposition had powerfully shown its hand. Docks, railways, canals, merchants were up in arms ; and those who strove against them were dragged down by a dead weight of indifference, incredulity and even hostility on the part of those who

were ultimately to benefit by their efforts. Undismayed, they came up again in the next session of Parliament. This time, by the perverseness of fate, the Lords passed the Bill and the Commons would have none of it. This second rebuff was no more effective than the first. In 1885 another scheme was brought forward in a third Bill; and this time both the Houses approved. There had been more than two years of arduous fighting. Parliamentary committees had sat on the matter during 175 days. It is said that during 28 days the expenses were ticking up to the tune of five guineas a minute; and the expenses of both sides finally totalled £350,000. In one session 25,367 questions were asked in the Lords' Committee, and the answers to these questions filled a book of 1861 pages. It had been altogether one of the hardest fights ever carried through the British Parliament on behalf of an engineering scheme.

And now that the fight was won, it came to no more than bare permission to go ahead. Those were not wanting who thought this a barren boon, who considered that these fabulous law costs had been squandered on a scheme for making dyes from the rainbow; and, to anticipate the story a little, even when the canal stretched, deep and straight, from the Mersey to Trafford Park, these unbelievers still moaned that never a keel would cut its waters. So it was that, stage by stage, those pioneers had to prove that the thing could be done by saying—"Look! It is done."

A few men of substantial capital were among those who believed that the canal could be made and that, when made, it would be profitable. But these alone could not have seen the matter through. Support had to come from elsewhere, and it did not come very notably from the wealthy. The

forty thousand shareholders were mostly found among the ruck of the people, and Friendly Societies and Co-operative Societies, too, put money into the venture. In a real sense, it was a great communal adventure, and thirty years were destined to pass before the adventurers saw any return on their money.

When Lord Egerton of Tatton cut the first sod on a winter day in 1887, Daniel Adamson was out of the venture. That great pioneer had presided over the first phase ; what we may call the phase of the struggle against interests. Now opened the second phase ; the struggle against geology, against the law of gravity, against storm and flood. This was a phase complicated with difficulties that made the most doleful prophecies seem but the voice of reason. It was found as the work proceeded that the cost had been under-estimated. Seven million pounds, it had been thought, would see the thing through. Fourteen millions had been spent before the work was done. Nor was this all. Mr. T. A. Walker, the contractor who had the work in hand, a man who had gained great experience in the Severn Tunnel, died when two years' work had been done ; and, as though the money difficulties and this cutting off of a chief directing spirit were not enough, disastrous floods came upon the land, work which had been done was washed away and had to be done again, and plant was utterly submerged.

The work went on. The money difficulty was settled by a great act of faith on the part of the Corporation of Manchester, which put five million pounds into the work. New contractors were found. The devastations by flood were made good. And as the making of this canal was, in general, to benefit Lancashire, so, in particular, the work which was

done in fighting the floods has been permanently useful to others than the canal users. These floods were no new thing. Even to this day some parts of the Mersey are capable of swift, destructive dealing with large tracts of land. But those parts of it which were dealt with by the canal makers are dangerous no longer. The broadened bed keeps the floods under control, and the raised banks protect thousands of acres which, formerly at the mercy of the waters, can now be farmed in the assurance that the labour will not be in vain.

The difficulties were not all concerned with the freaks and petulance of the weather. There were perplexing engineering problems to be dealt with. There was, for one thing, that climb of 60 feet which the land makes between the Mersey's mouth and Manchester, solved by a series of locks.

There was the question, too, of the Barton aqueduct. Twice at that spot engineering history has been made. It was made first by that untutored genius James Brindley, who is credited with a notable reply to a question asked him in Parliamentary committee. He was asked for what purpose he thought rivers were made and said—"To feed canals, of course." All Brindley is in those two words "of course." When he was making the Bridgewater Canal a problem arose at Barton. The Irwell had to be crossed, and rejecting the orthodox method of a flight of locks on either bank, Brindley boldly threw the canal across the river on an aqueduct. More than a hundred years later history was made there again. The Ship Canal's course was along the old waterway that Brindley had crossed. What of tall-masted ships? How were they to pass the obstruction of the aqueduct? The Bridgewater Canal had to continue to function, but that section of it which was contained in the aqueduct had somehow

MANCHESTER'S INLAND DOCKS

to be made movable. Once the solution was reached it seemed simplicity itself, but it is acknowledged to be a masterstroke of engineering. A tiny island, running the same way as the canal, was built under the aqueduct. There was room for a ship to pass on either side. Then iron doors were made which would shut down at either end of the aqueduct, making it a long box of water. The whole thing swung on the pivot, the box being brought round till, instead of crossing the canal, it lay up and down it, over the little island. Meantime, iron doors had closed up the two raw edges of the canal. The ships passed ; the aqueduct swung back, the iron doors were opened, and the Bridgewater Canal went on with its work.

These two problems are typical of many that had to be solved. There was the problem of making the great cast-iron siphons, 12 feet in diameter, which carry right under the bed of the canal the tidal waters of the river Gowy. There was the problem of taking five railways across the canal, one of them the main line from London to Scotland. But there is no space here to discuss these things in detail. Let it be enough to say that in face of all natural difficulties and all difficulties manufactured by an interested opposition, the work went obstinately forward till, at the end of six years, there stretched from the Mersey to Manchester a waterway $35\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, 28 feet deep, from 290 to 370 feet wide at the top, and 120 to 170 feet wide at the bottom, capable of carrying vessels of 15,000 tons dead weight capacity. On January 1st, 1894, the first big ships sailed up the canal.

So the canal was made, and at the canal's end came into being the Port of Manchester—an inland port which can claim to rank among the notable ports of the world. It has the great advantage of having come into being all of a piece. Many

ports have happened by slow, piecemeal, and almost accidental accretion. Like a business hampered with premises and machinery that were designed before modern notions got abroad, such a port tends to be an inconvenient and perplexing jumble of docks, wharves, warehouses, and railways, badly related to one another, unwrought into a cohesive and efficient unity. The Port of Manchester did not happen. It was made—made by men who knew Lancashire's needs, who had considered well what a port should be, and who saw as clearly what to avoid as what to insist upon.

Before we look in some detail at the construction and equipment of this port, it will be as well to consider what lies along the length of the canal, from the sea eastward. Something has already been said of the locks. The entrance lock at Eastham is, so to speak, the actual front door of the canal. Once through that door, you are in the long corridor that leads to Manchester. Interesting and important departments open off the corridor, and the first of these is Ellesmere Port, the terminus of a canal system that touches the Potteries. One remembers how the boy in one of Mr. Arnold Bennett's novels leaned over a bridge in the Potteries and wondered why it was that the clay in the barges below had to be brought all the way from Cornwall to make pots so far north. If he had gazed over a bridge at Ellesmere Port, he would have seen the clay farther north still—in the shape of finished pots this time, ready for shipment. A not unimportant place this, and the Canal Company has established here 2400 feet of quays, 30 feet of water alongside, with sheds and warehouses, including a grain warehouse of 20,000 tons capacity, and the most modern coal conveyer plant in existence.

A little farther east is the Stanlow Oil Dock. This was

opened not many years ago, and already it has become the most important centre after London for the storage and distribution of motor spirit. No risks are run with the oil ships. When one has entered Stanlow Dock the entrance is closed by a floating caisson and remains closed till the cargo is discharged into the spirit tanks, which rise up, like a collection of gasometers, on the other side of the canal. There is a subway under the canal, and the subway is charged with pipes which conduct the spirit from ship to storage tank. Some of the most important motor-spirit firms in the world have established depots at Stanlow, where the 47 tanks have a storage capacity of over 180,000 tons ; more than 44 million gallons. Along the canal are altogether 140 tanks storing nearly 100 million gallons of oil.

Next we come to Runcorn, where there are six docks, with a water space of 15 acres, and a total dock area of 147 acres, 77 of them being available for storage. The canal passes now through Warrington, and its effect upon the prosperity of that town is undoubted. Then come the locks at Latchford, and after them the important coaling basin and lay-bye at Partington. Partington is the nearest point of shipment for the Lancashire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire coal-fields, and the equipment is designed to handle coal in the most expeditious way. There is accommodation for seven hydraulic tips, and six of them are already constructed and in use. Each can deal with 300 tons of coal per hour. There are nine locomotives and two steam cranes, and the railway communication is direct with all the coal-fields of the kingdom. The length of the quays at Partington is nearly three-quarters of a mile and their area about 20 acres. The water space is $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and the railway sidings cover $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

The entry to the docks is finally made through Mode Wheel Locks, and just before they are reached you may notice on the north bank a hydraulic coaling crane, for cargoes or bunkers, capable of manipulating ten-ton wagons. When the vast gates of Mode Wheel have opened, let us through and shut behind us, we are in Manchester docks. The eight docks are arranged in two groups of four each, sloping away from either bank of the canal. The water space is 120 acres. The quays are 5 miles and 5 furlongs in length. The dock estate area is 406½ acres, the quay and storage area covering 286½ acres. You will notice at once the strategic position of the cranes. There are three hundred of them, and one, a floating crane, can lift 60 tons at a time. For the most part, they stand on the quaysides, and in one movement remove merchandise from the ship to the waiting train or to the transit sheds which are ranged along the quays, flanked by railway lines before and behind. Whatever they do, they do with the greatest economy of time and money yet attainable. Not a pennyworth of unnecessary handling takes place in the Manchester docks ; nor is there an unnecessary hour's delay once the merchandise has found its way into the railway trucks. The 85 miles of railway on the dock estate are directly connected with every main-line route in the country, and there is a constant coming and going, a well-organized system of twice-a-day make-up and dispatch of trains. Over fifty locomotives and 2500 railway wagons are always hard at it. For goods whose immediate dispatch is not required there are thirteen warehouses, each of seven storeys, and fourteen single-floor warehouses. One of these warehouses alone has a storage capacity of about 53,280 cubic yards.

If one should ask, " What is the nature of the merchandise

dealt with in this port ?" the answer is that everything that a varied industrial community makes goes out and everything that it requires comes in. The port is like a vast A.S.C. depot for the great army of workers concentrated in Lancashire ; but it is more than that, for the industrial army is not destructive but constructive, and therefore the inward depot is also a great outward clearing house. There is, to begin with, the feeding of this population of many millions clustered round Manchester in a circle of considerable towns. It is the most closely packed population in the world. Think of the bread it eats in a day ! No wonder the grain elevators at the docks are so immense—towering buildings that catch the most casual eye. There are two of them, and each can store 40,000 tons. Those thousands of tons are automatically separated and stored according to species and qualities. It is not merely sucked in anyhow through all the bewildering pipes and conduits ; it is separated and distributed and stored. And, if need be, it can be discharged, made up in sacks, into thirty railway wagons and twenty carts at the same time ; or, in bulk, can be put into barges at 300 tons per hour. Every year there come to these elevators 600,000 tons or 23,000,000 bushels of grain.

Think, too, of the fruit, vegetables, and meat necessary for this population of nearly 10,000,000 lying within fifty miles of the City. It is not to be wondered at that Manchester has become the second fruit market of the Kingdom, selling sometimes as many as 100,000 cases of green fruit in a day.

What the people need for their work must come in too : the cotton for the spindles of Lancashire, and the raw material of many an industry.

If the pioneers of the canal scheme could to-day point to

all these activities, and to others too numerous to be mentioned here, they might well say, as they had so often to say in the past: "Look! it is done." Perhaps we, who were born into a mere acceptance of the accomplished fact, do not realize how marvellous the thing is; this creation of the fourth port of the Kingdom on a spot where a country house and estate stood within the memory of men not yet much more than middle-aged. And the great thing about it is this; the pioneers proved something more than the pedantic point that a canal could be made; they proved that the canal when made would have the effect they predicted. Consider this one point: when a beginning was made with the work there were so many empty houses in Manchester that the whole population of neighbouring Stockport could have been lodged in them! When the canal had been in use for ten years all the old empty houses had been filled and 10,000 new ones had been built. That was perhaps the swiftest addition to the population of Manchester that had taken place since the industrial revolution; and this is not to be wondered at, for another revolution had been achieved. There is no other word for it: the planting of a great port in the heart of England was revolutionary—nothing less.

Liverpool did not suffer. The canal helped to explode the old myth that one town's prosperity necessarily reacts to the impoverishment of another. That is fundamentally wrong-headed thinking. In those first ten years when such a welcome accession came to Manchester's prosperity, the shipping tonnage in Liverpool went up from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 a year. What had happened was that competition had brought down costs which had been too high. Railway freight charges fell sensationally; and if the cost of bringing freight direct to

Manchester was reduced in some cases to less than half what it had been to bring it through Liverpool before the canal was begun, still, even to bring it by way of Liverpool was cheaper after the canal was opened than it had been before. These elementary lessons in economics have not been overlooked! Manchester and Liverpool are not inclined now to look on one another with such jealous eyes, realizing that prosperity is like the sunshine which must flood a large tract if it is to shine at all.

No one ever questions the success of the canal now. The last of the doubters is dead—perhaps he has been resurrected as a shareholder. If so, he is luckier than he deserves to be; for he is a shareholder in a concern whose future of growing prosperity is assured. The capital has recently been increased by £2,000,000 to £21,573,230, and the control of this vast sum of money is exercised by a Board of Directors some of whom are elected by the shareholders and some appointed by the Manchester Corporation. They have shown themselves to be a body of men thoroughly alive to the great responsibility that is theirs. If one had to choose a motto for them it might appropriately be—"Never Satisfied." Yesterday it was the Stanlow Oil Dock; to-day the development of Ellesmere Port; to-morrow it will be something else. If, as is sometimes thought, Manchester meant cotton and nothing but cotton, the problem would be comparatively simple. But Manchester means engineering and dyeing, mining, building, calico printing, the manufacture of clothing and of foodstuffs. It is concerned in printing and in oils, in the making of bricks, chemicals, rubber, paper, in saw-milling and wire-drawing. It makes glass, pottery, and motor-cars.

Many men of business concerned in these matters have

realized what the canal means. They have put their works alongside it in order to save railway freight charges and to avoid unnecessary rehandling of their goods. They have learned the great lesson that Manchester's economic sea-coast is the Manchester docks. They know that they save both time and money by being on the spot where their raw materials arrive and whence their finished goods must leave. Like eager squatters, great firms have come and staked out their claims, but they are unlike squatters in this : the gains are not problematical. And not only about the docks, but all along the length of the canal, the advantage is being realized of having an ocean highway at the front door of the works.

It is because of these things that the Canal Company Directors are never satisfied. They have to go on, year after year, meeting the demands of new customers. The grain trade comes : it must be given granaries. The petrol trade comes : it must be given the dock at Stanlow. General merchandise traffic increases : new transit sheds are provided, and so on. A certain schoolmaster who knew no Latin was once asked to teach Latin to a boy. He did so ; and the boy never knew that the master was all the time only one lesson ahead. So any trade can come to Manchester docks and ask to be dealt with and it will be dealt with ; and the port will always be a little ahead of what is being asked for.

SOCIAL SERVICE.

SOCIAL service in any modern town is a highly organized and complex affair in which many organizations and individuals take part; so many indeed that it would be impossible to enumerate them, whilst to give an adequate impression of such service rendered by the Corporation alone would fill many pages. This essay must therefore be accepted as a sketch of the development and main trend of social work in Manchester. That the tradition of philanthropic work is strong augurs well for the spirit and standard of citizenship in Manchester, but equally it may be taken as a proof that a section of the community is living under conditions which do little credit to a great city.

Manchester, like many other towns in the north of England, was swept into the vortex of the Industrial Revolution and awoke from the intoxication of that scramble for power and wealth to find her resources strained to the limit of endurance. No longer a pleasant country town with easy access to green fields, she had grown into a drab manufacturing centre shadowed by a regiment of gloomy mills with their sentinel chimneys, and set about with a mushroom growth of ill-spaced and badly built houses which proved insufficient to shelter the teeming population. Through the old lanes and by-ways the new and growing stream of traffic forced itself, converting them perforce into thoroughfares.

The rapid succession of inventions in machinery which

revolutionized manufacture and commerce, were in the first place mostly applied to cotton manufacture, and the history of Manchester and of other Lancashire towns at this time is therefore synonymous with the history of the Industrial Revolution. Between 1750 and 1820, as Dr. Bruton observes in his "Short History of Manchester and Salford," a new Manchester came into being with a population increased at least sevenfold, the promise of work having attracted large numbers from the country districts. No provision had been made for this increase in population—housing, sanitation, and food supplies were all desperately inadequate. If the shell and structure of the town were ill fitted to meet the strain of new conditions, still less was there any organization to safeguard the interests or protect the lives and property of the people. Manchester had as yet no voice in the councils of the nation, and until 1838 she was virtually governed under the manorial system with a commission of police as the nearest approach to municipal government. It was due in the main to the determined efforts of Richard Cobden that a Royal Charter was obtained in that year constituting Manchester a borough. Before that there were no municipal schools or libraries, no baths and waterworks, and, what was worse, no public control of housing and sanitation, no care for the health of the people. Many of the population were living under appalling conditions of poverty and filth ; and sickness and vice were rife amongst them. Private charity was unable to cope with the overwhelming tide of misery and poverty, and before long it was found necessary to legislate and to organize the public resources. It is not surprising that Manchester became in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the birthplace of many causes and movements for reform.

As might be expected most of the older charities and philanthropic societies are more directly concerned with curative work, such as the relief of poverty and sickness, and the abolition of drink and other vice.

Temperance work was begun in Manchester earlier than in almost any other place. The United Kingdom Alliance, the principal society working for Local Option, was founded in Manchester in 1855, and until recently had its national headquarters here, and the local branch is still active. The Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope and Temperance Union, founded in 1863, is chiefly concerned with educational work amongst children and adolescents, but it enlists the active interest of young men and women. Other societies engaged in educational temperance work are the Church of England Temperance Society, and Police Court and Prison Gate Mission, which has homes and hostels for boys, women, and girls, and employs 18 full-time police court missionaries in the Diocese ; whilst similar work is done for girls and women by the Women's Christian Temperance Association and Police Court Mission to Women, which was established more than 53 years ago. Probation and rescue work amongst young people is chiefly the concern of the Diocesan Association, the Wesleyan Mission and other kindred bodies, and various homes are run by them for young women and children. Apart from these institutions the Macalpine Maternity Home, which cares for the unmarried mother during the birth of her first baby, is amongst the earliest of its kind in the country.

A new and interesting departure has recently been made by the Anti-Gambling Committee of the Manchester and Salford Council of Christian Congregations. The Committee

has been enlarged to include representatives of many societies, a secretary has been appointed and the Committee now has its own office from which propaganda and educational work against betting and gambling is carried on.

The case of destitute and neglected children is investigated by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. This Society endeavours to bring pressure to bear on the parents or guardians and to ameliorate the home conditions, and where necessary it hands the children over to be brought up in the homes of the Boys and Girls' Refuges and the Church of England Waifs and Strays' Society. Both these societies aim at providing the nearest substitute for a normal happy home until the boys and girls reach the school leaving age, when suitable employment is sought for them.

In the relief cases of poverty and sickness the resources of the many charities, both public and private, and the services of the various societies are explored and to a great extent administered by the Manchester, Salford and District Provident and Charity Organization and the City League of Help, whose chairman, Mr. Harry Gaddum, has done pioneer work in Manchester in this connection. One of the chief aims of both of these bodies is to concentrate the resources of the City and to prevent overlapping and wasteful effort in the treatment of cases. The relief given is temporary, and every effort is made to help the recipient to regain his self-respect and independence. The District Provident and Charity Organization arranges loans varying from £2 to £25 and provides convalescent treatment. A third body, also concerned with the organization of relief, is the Manchester and Salford Council for Social Service. An excellent handbook has been prepared by them for the use of social workers.

With regard to the resources on which these organizations can draw for the relief of poverty, Manchester is not so well placed as Salford ; nevertheless there are various endowed charities mostly distributed from the Town Hall at definite dates and under special conditions. The Wood Street Mission provides shelter, clothes, and food for destitute men and for the temporary necessities of poor families. It also arranges country holidays for poor children. Various associations exist to protect the interests of ex-service men and women and to assist them and their families in case of distress. The Wesleyan Mission has a comprehensive scheme for relief and there are societies for the help of Scottish and Jewish residents in Manchester.

The Medical charities of Manchester are numerous and most enlightened in their policy and equipment. One of the latest is the Babies' Hospital, and the best known is the Manchester Royal Infirmary which has now accommodation for some 800 patients in its group of buildings in Oxford Road. Founded in 1752 it had its first home on the so-called Old Infirmary Site on Piccadilly. It is now one of the largest and best equipped of modern hospitals. Besides the general hospitals various institutions have been founded to deal with specific maladies such as tuberculosis : and in the treatment of cancer Manchester has taken an early and leading part in the development of the radium cure, due in no small measure to the enthusiasm of Sir William Milligan, and to the generosity of the late Sir Edward Holt and of Lady Holt.

Pioneer work has been done here in the treatment and care of mental defectives both in institutions and in their homes ; and progressive methods have been adopted in the treatment and education of the deaf and blind. Both at the

Royal Residential Schools for the Deaf and at Henshaw's Blind Asylum various kinds of handicrafts are taught, and the children are trained and entered for suitable trades. After-care is also undertaken by these societies. In the case of the blind, the welfare of the aged and infirm is more particularly the concern of the Blind Aid Society under the chairmanship of Miss Heywood.

Although it is impossible to give any detailed account of the work, perhaps enough has been said to suggest that in Manchester to-day there is a comprehensive scheme for the relief of extreme poverty, distress, and sickness, and the combating of vice, work which is in the main a patching up of spoilt materials. Whilst preventive and constructive work has been done in the past, it is more especially the concern of the future ; and more importance is now attached to measures affecting the well-being of the young life of the City, the provision of better dwelling-houses, of gardens and playing fields and other means to the end that Manchester may become a pleasanter and more wholesome place. All these matters are receiving careful consideration in the City Council to-day.

Valuable service is rendered by the voluntary societies amongst the young life of Manchester. The Schools for Mothers were started here second only to those in London, and the first Manchester centre was opened in Ancoats in 1908 on an entirely voluntary basis. The importance of ante-natal care is taught at these centres, and instruction is given in hygiene and child management. There are now eighteen centres run jointly by the voluntary organization and the Corporation Health Department. At some of them remedial treatment is given to rickety and ailing children. But the treatment and education of delicate and crippled

children is mainly the concern of two societies, the Invalid Children's Aid Association and the Crippled Children's Help Society. The first of these had its beginnings in the Santa Fina Society with its school for crippled children at the University Settlement in Ancoats Hall. This school has been closed as there is no longer a need for it since the Manchester Education Committee founded special residential schools for delicate and defective children. The work of the voluntary societies is now concerned with the visiting of the patients in their homes, supervising the treatment and where necessary supplying nourishing food and surgical appliances, or by making arrangements for their removal to hospital or to a convalescent home.

In the provision of means for the recreation and education of the people Manchester has a splendid tradition to follow. Between 1870 and 1880 Charles Rowley began his work in Ancoats. The New Islington Hall was built, and in 1881 the Ancoats Brotherhood held the first of a series of Sunday afternoon meetings, which were only to cease with Mr. Rowley's retirement in 1924. These programmes included lectures by many of the well-known writers and thinkers of the time, and concerts by fine musicians. Ancoats has been a great centre of social work. In Ancoats Hall, Thomas Horsfall opened his museum of art treasures for the benefit of the neighbourhood. In Ancoats too, at the Mill Girls' Institute, Sarah Ashworth trained her wonderful choirs drawn from the mill girls of the district. Special mention must be made of this institute since it is probably the earliest girls' club in the country. At the time of the cotton famine in 1866 the Young Women's Christian Association, then quite a small body, opened a night school for mill girls at the Boatman's

Bethel, to which a year later Miss Mary Browne came, at the age of sixteen, to help with her old nurse. Later, when the Y.W.C.A. had to withdraw their worker, Miss Browne was joined by her stepmother. Girls flocked to them for Bible teaching, and to learn the rudiments of reading and writing, darning and patching; and in 1871 they moved to a larger room in Lever Street, calling themselves the Manchester Mill and Working Girls' Society. From this beginning sprang the Manchester Girls' Institute with its sister institute at Salford and other branches, of which organization Miss Browne is still the head. The first Lads' Club was started in Hulme by Mr. Alexander Devine in 1886, and this was followed in 1888 by the founding of the Adelphi Club in Salford by Mr. Walter Southern, who continues as its leader. From this club sprang the two splendid Manchester Lads' Club workers, C. E. Russell, who founded the Heyrod Street Club, and Arthur Taylor of the Ancoats Lads' Club, men whose personality and influence will have a more lasting effect even than the actual teaching that they gave to the boys.

The primary difference between the work of the lads' clubs and girls' clubs as compared with that of the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and other organizations, is that they cater for the boys or girls who will not put themselves voluntarily under discipline, whereas they will come for recreation to a club, wherein the influence of religion and of education can gradually be brought to bear on them. A certain number of the clubs are run in connection with churches and religious bodies such as the Manchester and Salford Wesleyan Mission. About twenty-four clubs are now enrolled in the Manchester and Salford Girls' Club

Union and nineteen in the Manchester and District Lads' Club Federation. The purpose and aim of both these federations and of the clubs within them is to widen and enrich the lives of their members by providing them with opportunities of social intercourse, of games and of study. Handicraft classes, choir singing, and gymnastics form part of the programme in almost every club, and in this work valuable help is given in the provision of qualified teachers by the Education Committee and the Recreative Evening Classes Committee. A number of Holiday Camps are arranged each year both for boys and girls, and some of the clubs have their own holiday homes, such as the Woodhouse Memorial Holiday Home at New Mills and the Girls' Holiday Home at Southport. In arranging for games the club leaders are greatly assisted by Councillor Will Melland, who is a never-failing friend of youth, and of the Playing-Fields Society, which has for its object the increase of the supply of playing-fields, still sadly inadequate, and which arranges for their division and use.

It is unnecessary to give an account of the excellent work done by the various associations, such as the Lads' Brigades, the Young Men's Christian Association, Boy Scouts' Association, the Girl Guides, the Girls' Friendly Society, and others. But some mention should be made of the clubs which give equal membership to young men and women. The first of these is the Social Club in Lower Mosley Street, which was opened thirty-six years ago to provide a centre for young people of both sexes "with opportunities of comradeship and service for mutual improvement and recreation." Various games and study circles are run by the members. The club is non-sectarian and non-political. The Manchester Citizens' Club, opened during the War, caters for rather a different class of member. It owed

its being largely to the efforts of Mrs. Sydney O'Hanlon, whose work with women patrols in the streets of Manchester convinced her of the grave dangers run by young people through lack of a safe and friendly meeting-place. Other societies exist which encourage frequent meetings between boys and girls, such as the Collyhurst Guild for Social Service. The work of this guild covers a wide field, as it includes a child welfare centre, a sick nourishment dispensary, and the Woodhouse Memorial Holiday Home.

Having touched on constructive social work in its direct bearing on the health, education, and recreation of the people, it remains to speak of the reforms which are slowly being effected in their surroundings. Of late years it has come to be recognized more and more clearly that the houses in which they live have a far-reaching effect both on the physical and moral health of people. Drink, disease, and dirt are the offspring of miserable homes. Excellent measures are taken in our schools and hospitals to crush out these evils, and sometimes with complete success, but often, and especially in the case of young children, much of the ground that is gained in education and through medical treatment is afterwards lost through the deplorable conditions that prevail at home. So long as we fail to get to the root of the matter, succeeding generations will bear witness to our failure in lowered health and morality. The Corporation has recognized the dangers of overcrowding and is taking steps to alleviate it. Three big housing schemes have already been laid out and partly built in the suburbs ; and, thanks to the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Simon, the Wythenshawe Estate will provide a future outlet for the town. Mr. Simon's services have not been confined to gifts of land, but have also taken the form of exhaustive

enquiries into housing conditions, followed by carefully prepared proposals as to remedies for these problems and for the smoke nuisance.

Useful work in connection with research into the housing problem has been done by the Manchester Housing Company, Ltd., and the Regional Survey Society. The Housing Company, which was founded in 1908 by Miss Hankinson on the lines laid down by Miss Octavia Hill, took over the management of certain property in West Gorton, Collyhurst, and Ancoats; and later under the enthusiastic lead of Canon Shimwell a building scheme was started, and the first group of twenty-four houses has been built. The Regional Survey Society, working in connection with the Manchester University Settlement, has produced a report on the property in the Ancoats district. The Settlement has also become interested in the problems of the new districts, and the Warden, Miss Cashmore, has taken a house on the Wilbraham Road Estate in order to create there a centre of social life and for such activities as a handicrafts guild, a reading circle, and a garden club. By these means it is hoped to stimulate social intercourse and civic pride amongst the householders, many of whom, coming from poorer neighbourhoods, are at first lonely and confused as to the new social standards and civic responsibilities which have been forced on them.

One excellent society exists for the purpose of education in civic matters, namely the Women Citizens' Association, founded in 1914, which has been instrumental in arousing a sense of responsibility in municipal affairs and of interest in local government amongst its members by means of lectures and visits to public departments, and through its newspaper. Much, however, remains to be done.

It will be seen from this account, incomplete though it must necessarily be, that Manchester has a fine record of social service. Men and women have devoted their powers to stem the tide of misery and distress and to bring truth and beauty into dreary lives. But individual effort, however splendid, is not enough, a corporate sense of responsibility and purpose is needed. Professor Lethaby gets to the root of the matter when he says: "Our towns have not been thought of enough as organisms and wholes: wonderful work has been done in them in departments, especially in remedial ways, but not so much in constructive ways. The town itself is hardly ever thought of as a cradle of life, a school for manners, and the foundations of civilization. . . . We have to reorganize our towns as places in which to train strong and willing children. A man is the child of his city, and if he cannot reverence her, he is much of an orphan. Even an apostle felt a satisfaction in belonging to no mean city."

MANCHESTER AND RECREATION.

RECREATION implies work, though it may imply also some less admirable qualities in a city. Only citizens who have spent their energies need to recreate them. The ancient Greeks would have talked of leisure and the proper use of it but not so easily of recreation in our modern sense, and neither would the Romans, or at least they should not have done, when the rich men lived on the Empire and the poor men on the rich. But in the modern state, since the coming of the Industrial Revolution, men not only work but work in vast agglomerations. They envelop themselves in smoke and foul air and they push the country farther and farther away. Then they discover the need for recreation both mental and physical. Then also they discover the difficulty of providing it because work had been the first consideration. Fields and woods were destroyed and houses and works built in order that a man might get to his work early and easily. It was only later that the discovery was made that the means of physical recreation must be provided for him and then the difficulties arose one after another. There he was, working —and, after all, that was the great thing. But the instruments of physical recreation meant land and buildings, time and money, and who was going to provide these unless indeed the employer and the municipality were unusually enlightened, born out of their due time? That is the reason

why, however hard the present generation may try, the means of recreation, the instruments for a noble use of leisure, are still inadequate to our great populations. But the present generation is trying, and not least in Manchester.

In this, as in so many other things—its weather, for instance, its architecture, its schools, its libraries—Manchester is better than the reputation which its eminence in trade has forced upon it. Many people, remembering the history of the Industrial Revolution, the general callousness to the needs of the working people for rest and recreation and the growth of the slums, think that a place like Manchester must have been indifferent nearly a hundred years ago to the necessity of creating open spaces for the benefit of the populations huddled round about. On the contrary, Manchester can claim that in Philips Park and Queen's Park it established the first two public parks in the British Isles to be maintained out of the rates. That was in 1846. It was a good beginning, with sixty acres of open land, but unfortunately the next stage in the record was not so good. Twenty years later Alexandra Park added sixty acres, but after that, for another twenty years things went badly. Only a beggarly forty acres were added to the total. There must have been some pestilent wave of false economy sweeping over the place, or perhaps just ignorant government and lack of foresight or of a social sense. It seems so obvious nowadays that wherever a big population is or goes, there must be breathing spaces, room for rest, sites for games of all sorts—games for women and children as well as men—a chance for flowers, shrubs and trees, a profusion of grass and water, in short places where people can do something to restore proportion to their lives by glimpses of beauty and the eternal harmony.

But Manchester's record has been good since the eighties. The City has gone on adding field to field here, there, and everywhere. The greatest acquisition was Heaton Park in 1902 with its 638 acres, for this Park, with its lake for boating, its bird sanctuary, its children's camp and its wide, unspoiled because untutored spaces, is a little world of recreation in itself. There is Platt Fields, too—which, like Birch Fields, preserved the old "fields," so much pleasanter a word, so much less redolent than "park" of spit and polish. Platt has its old hall still, plain, good, and handsome in its warm red brick, and in front of it the rugged "Barnard" Lincoln, which the sentimental think must surely be unjust to so truly great a man. Platt Fields are well within the City, but a few miles beyond the river boundaries lies Wythenshawe, also with its hall—an open expanse of 250 acres, the gift to Manchester of Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Simon, a statesman's gift, for it indicates the policy which our city-states ought to have pursued (but rarely have) for a century past, looking out always beyond the bounds of their immediate populations and providing for their life-breath, their recreation, in the future. That was the way of economy as well as of health, had they only legislated for the future rather than for the present.

The parks have been changing their character, too. There are over seventy of them now and they are no longer exclusively affairs of grass and flowers and paths. It is an age of games, and not only for the young. Of course we provide for the young, even the very young. There are paddling pools and sand-gardens for them. There are six or seven open-air swimming-baths, three boating lakes, nearly 300 football and cricket pitches, two golf-courses, over 400 lawn-tennis courts (and almost 400,000 players in the year) and

seventy bowling greens. Nor can the young folk of the tennis courts boast themselves over the bowlers of the greens, a large part of whom are middle-aged or definitely old. The standard of skill is higher among the bowlers, for too often still does the parks lawn-tennis player exemplify enthusiasm rather than knowledge. He and she have been ill-taught but they are keen to learn. There is another recreation which, though it is of another branch, should not be omitted when the parks come in question. That is the public provision of music. Bands and concert parties are to be heard weekly in about forty of the parks, and last year in the Whitsuntide week alone—a great Manchester holiday—the audiences numbered 70,000.

After the parks, the playing-fields. There are not enough public parks and there are not enough playing-fields. The provision of parks, recreation grounds, and open spaces is restricted because of the drain upon the rates, and the provision of playing-fields is restricted because it depends upon private subscriptions. Both, in turn, rest upon public opinion, and as yet the public does not realize sufficiently clearly—not only in Manchester but anywhere—that the adequate provision of playing spaces is a necessary part of hygiene and of morals. In a broad sense, playing-fields are for the young. Youthful spirits must have a vent. For the same reason that the puppy tears up his master's slippers or his mistress's gloves, the boy and girl get into mischief in the streets if they have not the proper place and opportunity to work off high spirits. Later on in life people commit crimes because they have not an adequate outlet for their emotion in the enjoyment of art or literature. Early in life they commit offences because they have not been provided with the means of physical recreation,

that is with playing-fields. Only in recent years have people begun to realize this and to act upon it, and the general public does not yet realize it enough.

All the same Manchester, if it began late, began earlier than most cities. If it has not yet done all that it should have done, it is probably better off in respect of playing-fields—thanks largely to the pioneer work of Mr. Will Melland—than any of the great cities except London. The Manchester and Salford Playing-Fields Society has been in existence rather more than twenty-one years ; it has now seven playing-fields in its hands and some 2000 players enjoy themselves there every Saturday afternoon. This is a good record until it is put in comparison with the size of the problem and the degree of public support. The problem is growing every year in intensity if only because women and girls are most desirably demanding a larger share in the open-air facilities accorded to men and boys. On the other hand, the Society, considering the importance of its work and the zeal of its workers—who give their services freely—ought to receive a much more generous regular support from the public. Educate ! Educate ! is of course the remedy. Socrates used to say that he was wise enough to recognize his own ignorance. There is something to be said for a city which recognizes that whatever it contrives to achieve there is always something farther ahead at which it must aim.

From lads' clubs (be it not forgotten that C. E. B. Russell of Manchester was a leader in that great movement) and playing-fields to the more spectacular games. Some people are scornful of those who watch games, but it would be more helpful if they assisted the Will Mellands to provide fields on which those can play who want to. It is a reasonable statement about the average Englishman that if he is given the

chance to kick, throw, or strike a ball he will. If he cannot do it himself he will go and watch some one else doing it. In Manchester this engaging passion is exceedingly well developed and may be seen at work in all the major sports, and not less in the minor ones.

The Manchester mind is receptive towards all games and sports. It may seem a bold jump to a playing-field from the "hovels" and loading-ways and cellars of Manchester merchants, where bales may be seen marked with the magic names of Lima and Yokohama, Pekin and Samarkand. But it is not really so great. Manchester men for generations have gone out to the far ends of the earth to trade—alas! they do not find the task now quite so easy—and they and the community at home have, perhaps, a somewhat larger sympathy with the men and the customs of other countries than have those of their countrymen who depend less on the outer world. It cannot be without some such reason that the game of lacrosse, for instance, has rooted itself so deeply in the Manchester district. No part of England except a tract round London can compete with Manchester in this particular game (a club from a Manchester suburb has lately won the customary victory over the champions of the south), but why, unless it be something in Manchester's outlook in the world, which is shown also in the numerous foreign "colonies" of the City, should the game ever have become acclimatized here and not elsewhere? Perhaps also there is a certain political philosophy at the bottom of the policy which Lancashire cricket pursues with regard to "imported" players. The headquarters of Lancashire cricket is in Manchester, and for years now the purists—and some of them are men of our own company—have complained that we are too willing to employ non-Lancashire men to fight for

Lancashire. Here is no place to resolve a problem which stirs the emotional deeps; sufficient to say that the policy, whether right or wrong, is not incongruous in a people which for a century has been a little less insular, a little less international than some of its neighbours.

Apart from this, what can we show that is distinctive about the two great games of football and cricket in Manchester? In professional football, certainly, nothing. League football, whichever "code" it follows, does not exhibit the psychology of Manchester or of any other place, but only of the mass. Watching it is a healthy and wholesome occupation for the old and middle-aged; many of the young would not watch it at all if we would let them play. But it is not redolent of our city or even our county. All is conventional and standardized, from the captains and the referee who shake hands with a solemn ceremonial before the game starts to the players who are the spoiled darlings of the crowd (when they play at home), and the crowd who exhibit all the perversities of mass impulsion. Yet each crowd perhaps has its native characteristics, only these cannot be seen except when placed in a "foreign" and contrasting setting. When a Glasgow crowd comes to Manchester, the Manchester man can see something in a sudden, lurid flash of the soul of Glasgow, and if Manchester went to Glasgow, the Glasgow man would not, perhaps, be less enlightened.

The Rugby footballer, however, must not lack his word of praise. In the nineties the most famous Rugby clubs in and round Manchester—Swinton, Salford, Broughton and the like—"went professional." The amateurs—the lovers of the great game—had a hard battle and have fought it to success. The Rugby game is strong and flourishing again in Manchester, as

in West Lancashire, and the persistence and stubbornness of Manchester men are to be thanked for it. And, lastly, there is cricket. Manchester is not Lancashire but it is not the least part of it, and it has an intense pride in Lancashire cricket and in those who have made the county side champions for three years in succession. A county may be champions for one year by something like a fluke but not, as they know in Yorkshire, for several years together. It needs skill and resolution in the team, sound management, and an understanding and enthusiastic public. An American paper once said scornfully that if the news spread in Manchester that two great batsmen were well set and could not be got out, people would flock to Old Trafford to see the tedious spectacle. But if the cricket were good, if the cricketers, whatever their counties or countries, received the crowd's applause, if the game brought out patience, sympathy and persistence in both players and spectators (and the weather were as dry as it usually is in Manchester), why, it would be a good game for Manchester and Manchester a good place in which to play the game !

FAMOUS MEN WHO MADE MANCHESTER.

Mrs. Linnæus Banks opens her historical romance of "The Manchester Man" with a passage which at once causes our thoughts to rush back to antiquity—"When Pliny lost his life, and Herculaneum was buried, Manchester was born. Whilst lava and ashes blotted from sight and memory fair and luxurious Roman cities close to the Capitol, the Roman soldiery of Titus, under their general [Julius] Agricola, laid the foundations of a distant city which now competes with the great cities of the world." It is a vivid and convincing method of reminding us of foundations, and of revealing by suggestion that steady advance of over two thousand years from the primitive settlement, where Cæsar's legions found the half-civilized British in "the place of tents" (if that be the real meaning of Mancenian) to the northern metropolis of to-day with its teeming populace and its world-wide commerce. To tell of the famous men who made Manchester is, in truth, to trace its history century by century and to pick out the leading names in the chronicle. Some of those names flash out for but a brief period and then as suddenly disappear; others have a lingering luminance; some few make a permanent blaze. Before the time of Julius Agricola, leading his conquering army northward and making his capital at York, we know nothing beyond the fact that a British tribe had its encampment on the Medlock. The Roman ruler came in

A.D. 74, and, bringing with him civilization and culture and encouraging industry, left an impress upon Lancashire which did not pass away for nearly three centuries. In that period Manchester rose—to fall again in ruin, and almost to be obliterated during the devastating times of Dane and Saxon ; but the foundations had been laid.

There was no noticeable emergence until the Normans came, and the name that springs out of the mists is that of Roger de Poictou, a giant in his day, who had led the centre of King William's army at Hastings, and had been rewarded for valour and service by a grant of all the lands between the Mersey and the Ribble. But Roger was a restless and turbulent spirit, and war rather than statecraft was to his liking. This man who ruled Manchester awhile, and proved his might as a builder at Lancaster and Clitheroe, twice rebelled against his royal master ; and before he finally disappeared he made over the manor to the Greslets. Here was a truly administrative family. It was they who built wisely upon the foundations, they who not only kept abreast of the times but possessed the prescient spirit which made the future greatness of Manchester possible. We trace progress under their leadership. To the Greslets we owe the grant of the yearly fair by means of which trade and industry were encouraged ; and to them we owe the first Charter, granted to the burgesses in 1301. Their names are conspicuous for two hundred years. Their heritage passed to the La Warres, during whose time the Parish Church was collegiated (1422), and the Court Leet established for local government (1552).

In this same century a weird, mysterious, altogether abnormal apparition confronts us—not indeed, a maker of Manchester in the literal sense, but one who exercised no

little influence upon it, and therefore cannot be ignored. The cleric and wizard, John Dee, appointed Warden of the College in 1596, achieved the sinister reputation which so often attaches itself to the scientific investigator and pioneer. This is not the place to discuss his dabbling in so-called black magic and the forbidden arts ; all that is needed for our present record is the fact that he occupied himself in the important duties of settling the parish boundaries and preserving the temporalities of his vast parish. He impoverished himself by these labours and by litigation and died in utter penury, and yet the faithful modern historian has to admit that "the Dean and Canons of Manchester owe much to the self-sacrificing work of John Dee." So we pass on from this phantasmal figure to more definite actors and events.

Two of the most lustrous and honoured names may fittingly be linked, Hugh Oldham and Humphrey Chetham. Both were animated by the same high ideals, both possessed the same spirit of charity and goodwill, both laboured for the future and had the foresight to discern the best means of accomplishing their purpose. Oldham, who died in 1519, was the founder of the Grammar School, devised for "the bringing up of children in their adolescence, and to occupy them in good learning therein, when they should come of age and virility, whereby they may better know, love, honour, and dread God and His laws ; and that the liberal science or art of grammar is the ground and foundation of all other liberal arts and sciences ; and for the good mind which he did bear to the county of Lancashire, where the children had pregnant wits but had been mostly brought up rudely or idly, and not in virtue, cunning, education, literature, and good manners." Such, in quaint phraseology, was the good Bishop's aim ; and

such was the constitution laid down for the institution which has exercised its potent influence on the character and intellect of succeeding generations of Manchester citizens.

Humphrey Chetham, fustian merchant and scholar, was no less beneficent. In his lifetime he manifested a practical interest in education, and at his death he left his great plans to fructify. His picturesque Tudor residence, endowed with £7000, was to be a centre of learning ; forty boys were to be maintained ; and the first free library, with its collection of rare and priceless volumes, was to be at the disposal of the public. How far in advance of his times Humphrey Chetham was can be gauged by the fact that it was not until another two hundred years had passed that the first Municipal Free Library opened its doors to the community.

A third name, though belonging to a much later era, can appropriately be included here—John Owens, of the mid-nineteenth century, to whose munificence Manchester owes the College which commemorates him, founded for "the teaching of young persons of the male sex as in English Universities." The high development of this was, of course, the University itself.

The Civil War brought forth a man who for more reasons than one may be justly regarded as playing no inconsiderable part in Manchester's destiny. Sir Charles Worsley, of Platt (a family with many distinctions), was primarily a soldier. He was a Cromwell's man, and it was he who cleared the recalcitrants from the House of Commons in 1653 when the Protector gave the contemptuous command—"Take away that bauble." Worsley took the mace away, and kept it as a relic. It was due to his personal services that Manchester secured recognition as a parliamentary borough, and Worsley

was its first representative. It was fated that he should not enjoy the honour long. Elected in 1654, he died two years later ; but so eminent was the position he had secured that he was deemed worthy of burial among the illustrious in Westminster Abbey. Nor were his remains disturbed when the malignant revenges took place at the Restoration.

He had not a few notable successors, and though political fame is apt to be transitory there are names of men who rendered substantial and valuable services to Manchester which are not likely to be forgotten—Mark Phillips, a man of Reform times, who defeated Mr. Gladstone himself ; J. Milner Gibson, John Bright, Jacob Bright, and the group who under the inspiration of Richard Cobden secured for "The Manchester School" its enduring place in political annals. When we recall the Corn Law Agitation, the strenuous work for the Reform Bill, the long struggle for Free Trade, and the Chartist battles, and realize how intimately Manchester politicians were associated with all these movements, we realize how deeply they have stirred the City, directed its policy, and moulded its thought.

Typical men, produced by and in turn exercising their influence upon, the sturdy and independent nature of the Manchester publicist, were Abel Heywood who fought his fierce fight almost single-handed for a free press, and John Edward Taylor who carried on the campaign for liberty by establishing the *Manchester Guardian*. Oliver Heywood, the first freeman of the City, is another to be added to the list. His work was combined with innumerable benefactions, and the wide range of his public activities is almost beyond estimate. Incidentally it is worthy of note that it was he who as President of the Technical School opened the doors of

what is now the College of Technology, the then Principal of which, J. H. Reynolds, is also assuredly to be accounted, for his educational zeal, among the makers of modern Manchester.

If Joule and Dalton cannot quite accurately be included in this list, we can at least claim that their transcendent triumphs in science helped to give Manchester a distinctive place in that realm. Alexander McLaren, foremost of preachers, George Macdonald, the poet teacher, and James Fraser, most zealous and most beloved of Bishops, were not Manchester men, but they have left an indelible mark upon Manchester character. Fraser, succeeding Prince Lee, was for fifteen years impressing his personality upon the community, to the fore in religious, educational, social, and industrial work, a born administrator, a leader, and a friend. "The Bishop of all denominations" was the title happily conferred upon him and proudly accepted. His statue is in Albert Square, but his life and deeds were such that he requires neither brass nor stone to ensure his memory.

When De Quincey fled by night from the Grammar School he wrote to his mother: "The cause of my misery contains in itself a world of argument. I am living in a town where the sole universal object of pursuit is precisely that which I hold in most abhorrence. In this place trade is the elysium and money is the god. Every object I see reminds me of those occupations which run counter to the bent of my nature; every sentiment I hear sounds in discord to my own. I cannot sit out of doors but I am nosed by a factory, a cotton-boy, a cotton-dealer, or something else allied to that most detestable commerce." De Quincey was wrong—or, rather, he was only half-right. He failed to take into account the compensating circumstances, and the uses to which com-

merce had been put. He did not realize that the men who made Manchester had first to make themselves. Here was a John Rylands engaged no doubt as a trader on a very large and remunerative scale in an "abhorrent pursuit," but we have the Rylands Library as one of its results ; here was the Duke of Bridgewater amassing his millions out of coal, but we have the vast canal system which brought fortune not only to Manchester but revived the whole of South Lancashire ; here were hard-headed men like Daniel Adamson and his friends, and the outcome of their "abhorrent" exertions was the Ship Canal, the far-reaching effects of which cannot be computed. The men of trade and commerce made modern Manchester what it is. The inventors also, and although we cannot claim Arkwright, Kay, Crompton, and Cartwright, as natives, they were neighbours, and the direct results of their achievements were interwoven into the fabric of our own lives. Both sides of the proposition are perceptible in the case of Bridgewater, of whom it was said : "This is he who penetrated into the treasures of the Worsley coal-beds with his canals ; who filled Manchester and adjacent towns with fuel ; who spanned a navigable river with a navigable canal ; who loaded barges and passenger packets crossing over the masts and sails of the river craft ; who extended inland navigation until it became a system and a national necessity ; who carried the raw and manufactured material of Lancashire manufacturers between Manchester and Liverpool at less than half the cost of previous carriage and with greater speed : who thus—giving an impulse to an old industry, and birth to a new, to the unspeakable advantage of his country—realized a fortune for himself and his heirs such as had never been acquired by doing good to mankind before."

This rapid survey—little indeed but a catalogue—at least seems to prove that Manchester has had famous men whose praise deserves to be sung, and that in making Manchester what it is by their efforts and by their genius they have not only built up a great city but have benefited the nation as a whole. We like to think that, in Ruskin's words, they were "searching for felicity as well as for food," and that a civic patriotism urged them to make their centre and abode worthy, prosperous, and happy. The many noble institutions founded are a proof of this ; they were built for a future of which the wise had clear vision. Their fame rests in the honour we bestow upon their memories.

MANCHESTER AND ITS CRITICS—AN ANATOMY OF ABUSES.

DILIGENT students of the press of our capital city are aware that there is one story which crops up two or three times every year in those columns which are devoted to gossip and (if possible) jest. The scene is Euston or St. Pancras and a tourist is confronting the clerk at the booking-office window.

"I want to go to Manchester," explains the tourist.

"You don't *want* to go to Manchester," the clerk corrects him gently. "You mean you *have* to go there."

And there is enshrined the essence of at least 95 per cent. of all the gayer references to the City of Manchester. Manchester, like Falstaff, is a mighty provoker of mirth in other men and cities—"Men of all sorts take a pride to gird at me. . . . I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men." And if the wit in other men belongs mostly to what Carlyle would have recognized as the "feeble-forcible" type, that is the fault of the jester rather than the city which tempted him on to his would-be jest.

It is also true that there is, all over the civilized world, no type of jest that is more common than the one which aims at reducing the intolerable pretensions of a neighbouring town and rival. "The cities are full of pride," sings Kipling—and he might just as truthfully have observed that they are also consumed with envy. "Good-bye, God—we're going to live in

Chicago!"—the closing words of the young New Yorker's bedtime petition on the eve of his family's removal to the shores of the Great Lake—is another classical example of a world-wide sport. The wonder is that the Londoners have not attached that tale to Manchester. The parallel is closer than perhaps they realize; for if New York is the first city of the United States, Chicago is undoubtedly the second in wealth and importance. The point is of significance, for these jests really display the first civic stirrings of that now celebrated "inferiority complex." We do not, after all, take such tremendous pains to attempt to reduce the pride of those who are in themselves already negligible.

Any attempt at an anatomy of the abuses that have been offered to Manchester must begin by noticing two main streams of derision—the one directed at the weather of the City, and the other at the character of its inhabitants. The weather is probably the more familiar. It is firmly held by those who have never lived here that Manchester leads the whole land in the matter of rainfall, and, though it has never been actually asserted that its inhabitants have webbed feet, all good Cockneys cling to the belief that they are at least capable of living under water for long periods of the year on end. According to this venerable theory it would appear that

> When Britain first at Heaven's command
> Arose from out the azure main

it was the intention of Providence to make of Manchester a perpetual reminder of the damper depths from which the land had emerged—a sort of national park (or aquarium) where mermaids might still flourish side by side with young women in clogs and shawls. And it still must come as a great shock

to the more innocent Cockneys (of whom there are many) to discover that there is no seaweed on the spire of our Town Hall and not a single barnacle about the base of the Royal Exchange.

Any close examination of the facts about what the meteorologists politely describe as "precipitation" (in English, "rainfall") will dispose of the legend without altogether destroying the laughable side of it. For in an average year the recorded "precipitation" in Manchester exceeds the "precipitation" in London by about 7 inches in the course of the whole twelve months. Now if you are inclined to think that 7 inches is rather a lot, you may be reminded that the recording station of Chewton Mendip in Somerset exceeds the Manchester average by some 14 inches, or just twice the difference between Manchester and London. Moreover, places like Cirencester in Gloucester and Hailsham in Sussex —neither of which are particularly famous for bad weather— enjoy an annual rainfall which is almost identical, to the very decimal places, with that of Manchester. So much for averages—but when the year does not happen to be an average one it is quite possible for London to be visited by far greater deluges than Manchester. Indeed it is in London that the precipitation is particularly precipitate ; in Manchester it is an equable dampness rather than a downpour, a gentle and pervasive influence which is said to be equally good both for the cotton trade and the complexions of the female sex. Nevertheless, let the whole truth be told though the heavens fall. It does, from time to time, quite definitely rain in Manchester ; there are some days when it rains almost as definitely as it does in London. In the matter of fogs and floods, however, our achievements are quite unworthy of any attention at all

in comparison with the exploits offered by an average winter in the Thames valley.

The jests which are based on the alleged character of the Manchester man represent a rather more difficult and delicate field of inquiry, if only because it is not very easy to discover, first, the perfect representatives of the species, nor, secondly, the characteristic defects from which he is supposed to suffer. Mr. St. John Ervine, who is apparently stung into uncontrollable fury every time he has occasion to think of Manchester at all, has said that it is the "smugness" of its citizens which is the head and front of their offending. It is possible that he is on one of the right tracks. When I examine my own feelings on this subject with attention I am struck from time to time by evidence of a "superiority complex" so vast that in most cases it will not suffer me to discuss, much less to argue about any visible grounds for this colossal conviction of excellence. If that feeling is at all common in Manchester (and I sometimes suspect that it is) it may well annoy the outsider. I know of no attitude more irritating—except, of course, the fatuous self-complacency of the Cockney which it so curiously resembles. In the matter of sheer and self-satisfied conceit deep is here calling unto deep with no uncertain voice. Little outbursts of local patriotism from Belfast or Glasgow are like the gentle twittering of song birds in comparison with the stern tide—

> But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
> Too full for sound and foam—

of self-approbation which proceeds from Manchester or London.

But there is a reason for all things (though it may not

always be presently discoverable), and like causes do, in most cases, produce the same result. The cause, I am afraid, is the same in the case of Manchester and of London—both have the misfortune to be capital cities. They attract the able and ambitious from other regions—and, when they have done so, the aboriginals must sit down and make the best of a bad job. Far more than half of the citizens who instruct or rebuke Manchester are not Manchester men by birth; I should imagine that not even a tenth of those who lecture London were born within the sound of Bow Bells. Manchester was primarily a distributing centre for the cotton trade—but some of the most justly famous names in the early history of the trade were those of Scotsmen. There are Greeks, Armenians, Germans, and Jews—to say nothing of enterprising natives of other English counties—who have also realized where the bread was once to be well buttered. If this is not the real essence of a capital city—the ability to attract the adventurous and the competent—I do not know what it is.

But the gift makes it a little difficult for the aboriginals. What are they to do except sit down and say in effect, "Well, we belong to the place and any fame which is achieved by our tenants properly belongs to us. If they praise us, so much the better. If they criticize us, then they belong to the ugly category of birds that foul their own (sub-let) nest. In any event, we won't argue. *We are the people!*"

The Londoner says it—and I am afraid that on a slightly smaller scale the Manchester man assumes it. It is the only way out of a rather embarrassing situation. The fame of all capital cities is constantly being increased by outsiders who are only interested in an arena that is open to all the talents.

This leads to one or two quaint misunderstandings about Manchester. It is, for example, still regarded as a part of Lancashire —whereas all capital cities are more and more part of the wide, wide world. Manchester is not Lancashire in the social sense, any more than London is Surrey or Middlesex. The very speech of its back streets is not the Lancashire dialect of tradition but a corruption of standard English that is more clipped and cosmopolitan than the real Lancashire—as well as a great deal uglier. When the newspaper boy announces that the football team of Manchester "Ci'y" or "Uni'ed" has achieved another famous victory, or when the word "water" becomes "wa'er," with any "t" that stands between two vowels reduced to a sort of catch in the breath instead of a consonant, the result is a type of "low usage" which belongs to Glasgow as well as Manchester and seems to be a natural expression of slovenly speech rather than any true form of dialect. If, as an inquiring stranger, you wish to study either the Lancashire character or the Lancashire speech, you would do well to avoid Manchester. Both those things are certainly to be found in Manchester but only well mixed up with what the analyst would describe as "foreign bodies," and the innocent inquirer would be in grave risk of being led astray by characteristics which have about as much to do with the real Lancashire as a Kaffir or a kangaroo.

However, so far as I am aware there are no stock jests against the speech of Manchester—possibly because no one has succeeded in detecting its specific existence, since there is more difference between speech of Harpurhey and Didsbury than there is between the speech of Hampstead and Hoxton. Geographically and socially Manchester looks both north and south—north to the hills and mills of Lancashire, and south

to the fields and plains of Cheshire—and though no line of demarcation can be drawn the fusion permeates the whole life of the City. South Manchester grows more and more like a London suburb ; North Manchester is tougher and rather more intractably true to the Lancashire type. But even on the north side of the City some of the lumpier sort of corners are being chipped off and smoothed down to the general suburban level of all large cities, a level which grows more and more standardized and whose best symbol would, perhaps, be the artificial silk stocking (and, of course, the leg inside it) which is now the same thing—and usually the same colour—all the way from Wimbledon to Wigan and beyond.

But lest anyone should think that this insistence on the slightly stiffer character of the northern suburbs is a veiled argument in favour of the quite untenable proposition that those suburbs represent the "real" Manchester, it ought to be admitted at once that such regions were among the first to be colonized by the definite invaders of the earlier parts of the nineteenth century. The successful arrivals made for Kersal ; the less opulent for Cheetham Hill. Even now it is possible at times to notice curious evidence of stratification in the way that a very full tramcar empties itself as it proceeds along the Bury New Road. Round about Great Cheetham Street (a stopping-place which I have heard announced by a tram conductor as "Jerusalem Junction") we shed those Zionists who are never likely to return to Palestine ; between the approaches to Broughton Park and Kersal it is still possible to deposit a few representatives of Greece or Armenia ; at Sedgley Park we deliver typical creators of a suburb that might just as well belong to Birmingham or Wolverhampton ; and the small

residue of passengers that now remains will, at any rate on a Saturday night, be rather plain and unpropitious aboriginals whose roots are in Lancashire rather than Manchester.

This kind of thing (and the picture is not an idle invention) makes nonsense of the jests that are directed against any specific "Manchester type." If there is to be a jest at all it should be directed rather against the "Manchester conglomeration." But that is not a very safe sort of jest for any Englishman to indulge in. If he is honest he is bound to remember Defoe's reflection on the constituents of the "True-born Englishman":

> Fate jumbled them together, God knows how;
> Whate'er they were, they're true-born English now.

Manchester is a little like England in its capacity for absorbing the outsider and yet remaining firmly—and possibly rightly—convinced that it retains a character which is all its very own.

There is one other point which might be made the subject for a jest but rarely is so treated. If Manchester represents a higgledy-piggledy populace (a point which some patriots will perhaps indignantly deny) it presents still more certainly a higgledy-piggledy appearance. Architecturally there are no "prodigious fine prospects"; there are good buildings (and their number is increasing) but rarely sufficient room to stand back and look at them. And the smoke pall swiftly invests all buildings, new or old, with a cloak of darkness. If visitors made fun of the darkish disorder which is characteristic of so many Manchester streets it would be hard indeed to deny them their jest. But on the whole they do not do so; they prefer to elaborate the familiar and far more unsafe joke about the weather. Is this a proof of kindness and evidence of a

desire not to dwell on a really weak spot? Or does it merely illustrate once more how very little the critics really know about the City which they are so anxious to deride? However, there is small excuse for dealing with that subject during any lighter survey of the City's reputation and affairs. At any rate for those who have to live with it the grime of Manchester is no laughing matter.

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